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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-116
Tuesday
16 June 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-116 *16 June 1992*

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Yugoslavia

Federal—Belgrade radio reports that writer Dobrica Cosic was elected president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to AFP, Cosic was the "only candidate" after four other persons "withdrew" their candidacies. In an address carried by Belgrade radio, Cosic pledged, among other things, to strive for: the "freeing" of Yugoslavia from "isolation" and the UN sanctions, the "fatherland care of the Serbian people endangered in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina," and new national elections in "as practical a period of time as possible." In a news conference, reported by TANJUG, Cosic expressed his belief that "the world will realize what the truth is...and will recognize the rights to which the Serb nation is entitled."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Sarajevo radio announced that the Presidency has named the members of the new Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Jure Pelivan has been appointed president and Jusuf Pusina, head of Ministry of Internal Affairs.

According to Sarajevo radio, Mile Akmadzic, general secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, denied the TANJUG report stating that Bosnian authorities signed a "cease-fire agreement" with the Serbs. Only "one statement" was signed at the UN Protection Force building in which the Territorial Defense agreed to observe the cease-fire.

Croatia

Zagreb radio reports that Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, issued a "joint statement" concerning "future relations" between the two "sovereign" states, since Izetbegovic is unable to leave Sarajevo due to the "brutal aggression" occuring in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Czechoslovakia

In a news conference carried by Prague television after the 15 June talks between Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Chairman Vladimir Meciar and President Vaclav Havel, Meciar reiterated that his party will not support Havel's candidacy in the presidential election scheduled to be carried out by the federal parliament in July. Meciar added, however, that he will not nominate an alternative candidate and "agreed that the presidential candidate can be a Czech citizen" if the Federal Assembly chairman is a Slovak citizen. Saying at the same briefing that a "vacuum" would "be contrary to" the interests of Czechs and Slovaks, Havel called on both republics to hold a referendum as soon as possible on the future of the common state.

President Berisha Meets World Bank Director

AU1606065492 Tirana ATA in English 0807 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 15 (ATA)—The envoy of Radio Tirana Shpetim Roqi informs: On June 14, the president of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha had a working meeting with Mr. Kemal Dervish, director of the World Bank in the seat of this bank in Washington. The meeting lasted about three hours and a half and was described as indispensable for this stage of the economic reform in Albania and of a special importance in the context of the preparations of the World Bank to forward projects on Albania to the Council of Directors of the World Bank on June 25. The projects included various branches such as agriculture, oil, transport, social assistance, education, technical assistance, etc. Concentrating on the reflection of the situation in Albania, President Sali Berisha pointed out that Albania is a special case, therefore he demanded a special technical realization of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund. Mr. Berisha explained to Mr. Kemal Dervish the need that before the package of reforms is declared, the agreement with the IMF be over and this would be a great aid for the Albanian economy.

They in the meeting discussed extensively the reactivation of that part of the economy which is efficient. They laid the stress in particular on the measures to be adopted to make the social consequences of the application of the reform less painful. On his part, Mr. Kemal Dervish evaluated positively the rates of the reform in the direction of the land privatization, the liberalization of the prices of agricultural products, the rapid approval of the laws on the administration of the enterprises, etc. A special place in these talks occupied the discussion on the roads and ways of eliminating the foreign debt of Albania. In order to put these projects into life, the world bank will open its office in Tirana next week.

Council of Ministers on Social Assistance Bill

AU1506203892 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—The meeting of the Council of Ministers, which was held today chaired by Premier Aleksander Meksi, reviewed three draft laws: "On Wages," "Some Amendments to the Law on Social Assistance," and "On Prices and Tariffs."

The draft law on wages drafted by the Ministry of Finances and Economy defines the basic legal criteria on the wages of the working people of enterprises and institutions. It is based on the requests of the economic reform and principles of market economy, but at the same time it also reflects the special conditions of the period of transition, the grave economic and financial situation of the country.

The draft law charges the Council of Ministers to fix the monthly minimal wages, which varies according to the economic conditions of the country and is compulsory to all the juridical and physical persons carrying out their activity in the Republic of Albania.

The draft law "On Some Amendments to the Law on Social Support for Persons Who Remain Jobless Due to the Application of Economic Reform," is submitted by the Ministry of Labor, Emigration, Social Support and Political Prisoners.

This draft law is based on the financial possibilities of the state budget, the experience in implementing the Law of Social Support as well as on the recommendations and proposals of the representatives of IMF and World Bank.

The draft law "On Prices and Tariffs" submitted by the Ministry of Finances and Economy is intended to establish new legal criteria for fixing the prices of goods and tariffs in our country. This draft law is a significant step towards the liberalization of prices and tariffs, according to demand and offer of the market.

The Council of Ministers endorsed these three draft laws which will be forwarded to the People's Assembly soon.

Defense Minister Visits Shengjin Naval Base

AU1006183892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Telephone report by Tom Sercaj—from Shengjin]

[Text] Defense Minister Safet Zhulali visited the Shengjin Naval Base on 9 June. He was received at the base's entrance by Captain First Class Kasem Mece and Gjergj Gjoni, chairman of the Pluralist Committee of Lezhe District. Captain Second Class Piro Kuti, the base commander, showed the base to the minister. After saluting, the unit's personnel held a ceremonial marchpast. The minister and the persons accompanying him visited the base's facilities and inspected its military equipment.

Mr. Zhulali stressed that high-level military officials from various countries who have visited the base have said that it is extremely up-to-date. At the base's Command Headquarters, Mr. Piro Kurti informed Mr. Zhulali in detail about the base's military preparedness, the state of its equipment, and the base's aims, objectives, and rich history.

At a meeting held with a group of officials, the defense minister asked about working and living conditions. He especially wanted to know what they thought of the military reform, how they conceived it, how it should be applied, and what their views on the prospects of the base were. The soldiers fully supported the reform and offered constructive opinions on various problems, especially restructuring.

Taking the floor, Mr. Safet Zhulali expressed appreciation for the care shown to maintain the base and its military equipment. However, he stressed that more work is required from everybody in order to make it effective in performing its required function. By

applying the reform, we aim at modernizing the Army, not undermining our defense vigilance. The reform should not be understood simply as a cut in the numbers of soldiers and officers, but as creating a new concept of structures and a new military science. It cannot be carried out only by a group of people, but requires the broad participation of all soldiers. As part of our cooperation with foreign armies, Mr. Zhulali said among other things, we will organize competitions for assessing the skills and abilities of Army cadres and specialists, who must first of all be capable and knowledgeable.

Political Prisoners Demand Purge of Government

AU1606091392 Tirana LIRIA in Albanian 5 Jun 92 p 2

[Article by M.M. Zoti: "How Long Must We Wait for the Purge of the Justice Organs?"]

[Text] I am one among hundreds of thousands of political prisoners of conscience. I have been dealing with a problem for more than two months, and still have not solved it. In the course of this time, I have, one might say, made myself at home in the organs of justice, the investigator's office, the courts, the procurator's office, and even the Justice Ministry.

I have come to know many of the cadres who work in this pyramid of the justice organs. I must say that I was from the start surprised and disappointed, because they behave quite differently from the way they speak.

It is often said that these organs have been depoliticized, but the truth is in reality quite different. They have been and remain the spawn of the single-party system, and have been and remain in its service. They are the spawn of the Party of Labor [PPSh], and as long as this party's "boys" work in them, these organs will remain unchanged.

Let me mention certain things that I have seen with my own eyes concerning those who work and direct these organs.

It is well known that the Faculty of Law and Philosophy was historically part of the nomenklatura of the PPSh Central Committee. Not the children of workers and peasants but the children of high-ranking Red chiefs were sent there. This faculty was their property for the sake of "the continuity of the revolution." The sons and daughters of the former "great families" and "sound families" of the former blockmen, high officials, first secretaries, etc., from the Kapos to the Cukos, Celikus, Bishas, and Tonas dispensed "justice" in these bodies and worked as investigators, procurators, judges, directors of directorates, and deputy ministers.

Plenty of the investigators, procurators, and judges working in these organs are sons of former cadres of the Interior Ministry and of former procurators and judges, who were "the eyes, ears, and iron hand" of the PPSh. They are the sons of people who committed many crimes and there is no way that they can be depoliticized or can serve democracy. Many of these "brave lads" were accomplices in the countless catastrophes that befell us political prisoners and our families. I saw in these offices the "boys" who so "gently" investigated and reinvestigated us. I saw judges and procurators who "in the name of the people" "leniently" sentenced and resentenced us to the prisons and camps where we languished. I have seen many of them who used to visit us in the cooler or in prison and would knock out our teeth and torture us to prove that we were "enemies" and "spies," but who today, to the wonder of all, have become "democrats" and "benefactors" and are lawyers or directors of these "depoliticized" organs. It will be a disaster and a lie for our people if these organs are not renovated but reconstructed from scratch.

I was surprised when I saw ministers from previous governments and former responsible cadres of the PPSh Central Committee working in the Ministry of Justice. I also saw that the son of a former high-level PPSh Central Committee official was working in this ministry, which reminded me of one of the bitterest experiences of my life. When I went to the PPSh Central Committee 30 years ago to meet the father of this boy and to share my sorrows with this man who was my childhood friend, he not only did not receive me but sent the message through the doorman that: "The party will have no more dealings with you." In fact, I was arrested a few days later and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. Why should these people run the Justice Ministry? This ministry must not be directed any longer by such people, because this would be the greatest possible disaster for the people and democracy. For instance, you can find former members of the PPSh Central Committee performing privileged duties in the Tirana Court or the Investigator General's Office. For how long will this go on?

The reconstruction and purging of these organs is one of the primary tasks of the parliament and new democratic government, to which our association [Association of Former Political Prisoners] must give the relevant assistance. Perhaps it would be appropriate for our newspaper to start a special feature publishing the names of investigators who have committed crimes and whose children, in-laws, etc. hold responsible posts in the justice organs and the state apparatus. The people can no longer endure to hear or read in the newspapers the names of "good" families who have drunk their blood for 50 years.

Foreign Ministry Reacts to Greek Accusations

AU1506192792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Declaration of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, read by ministry spokesman Veneta Momcheva—live]

[Text] The recent statement delivered by Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Dhimitrios Avramopoulos on 13 June evoked consternation and distress.

In a sharp and even peremptory tone, false statements were attributed to Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, allegedly made in an interview with the German newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

This emotional reaction should presumably be attributed to inaccurate information.

By carefully reading the interview, the opinions of the Bulgarian foreign minister can be clearly distinguished from the journalist's personal views. The fact that we do not agree with all of the German reporter's statements is a different question.

Bulgaria has no territorial or nationalistic claims regarding any neighboring country whatsoever, or toward its population.

In this respect, the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejects any insinuations on this subject as arbitrary and contradictory to reality, which also applies to journalistic statements..

It is wel' known that the Bulgarian foreign minister, prime minister, and president appreciate the major role of Greece in Balkan stability. Guided by this logical reflection, we are striving for an increasingly intensive dialogue with Athens because we are convinced that Bulgarian-Greek relations represent an essential force for regional security. This is the true line of the new Bulgarian foreign policy in the Balkans which our country has never deviated from.

We hope that the inaccurate statement of the Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman is not aimed at negatively influencing the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations. These relations are based on solid foundations which were substantially strengthened over the last weeks as a result of the joint visit to Greece by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev.

Ganev 'Extremely Surprised' by Greek Statement

AU1606073092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Telephone report by special correspondent Petko Georgiev in Buenos Aires on 15 June—recorded]

[Text] In Buenos Aires, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev received the statement by the Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman concerning the statements ascribed to him published in the German newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. Mr. Ganev said that he was extremely surprised by the statement, which according to him is not based on the real facts.

I do not believe that Greece is a destabilizing factor in the Balkans, quite the reverse, he said. Only those who do not want a positive and intensive development of Bulgarian-Greek relations could become victims of such poor information. I categorically reject the assertions ascribed to me. I believe that Greece is playing and can play a stabilizing role in the Balkans, and through cooperation with Bulgaria this role can become even greater, the minister declared.

Mr. Ganev urged the officials at the Greek Foreign Ministry to read the foreign newspapers more carefully and voiced his conviction that the statement by the Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman does not correspond to the views of Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis and is hardly likely to have any effect upon the positive development of bilateral relations.

U.S. Labor Secretary Martin Meets With Vanov

AU1506202992 Sofia BTA in English 1701 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—The U.S. Secretary of Labor Mrs. Lynn Martin, is on a three-day official visit to Bulgaria. She had talks with her Bulgarian counterpart, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Vekil Vanov.

Today, Mrs. Lynn Martin was received by Bulgarian Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and Deputy Prime Minister Ilko Eskenazi. We are trying to orientate our cooperation to staff training and education so that a greater number of Bulgarians could set up their own businesses and be able to manage them, Mrs. Martin said after the talks.

The American delegation arrived in Bulgaria to assist in the setting up of employment agencies where unemployed people could receive information on possible vacancies. The two ministries are working on a model regional employment center in the town of Plovdiv (southern Bulgaria) which is to be completed shortly. Another two centers are to be opened in Burgas (on the Black Sea) and Ruse (on the Danube).

Later today Mrs. Martin met with the leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev.

The Bulgarian minister of labor and social affairs, Mr. Vekil Vanov, paid an official visit to the U.S.A. in March when the two ministers signed a memorandum on bilateral cooperation in labour relations.

Havel, Meciar Meet Press on 15 June Talks

LD1606014692 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2145 GMT 15 Jun 92

[News conference by CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), with unidentified mediator and unidentified correspondents following talks at Prague Castle on 15 June; Meciar speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Text] [Meciar] Ladies and gentlemen: Our Movement's delegation just finished talks with the president on the outcome of the Slovak elections, on preparations by the organs and structures of the Slovak Republic, and on hopes for concluding talks with the Civic Democratic Party on setting up Federal bodies. The talks also touched on differing views on Czechoslovakia's state setup in terms of the development of the state setup before and after the Slovak Republic's eventual referendum. I am at your disposal.

[Correspondent] Mr. Meciar, did you tell the president about your specific objections to him?

[Meciar] We told the president about our Movement's resolution and explained why we will not support his candidacy. It is our duty to say this in person and not to rely on the press to convey such messages.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us some of your specific objections?

[Meciar] We will make them public gradually.

[Correspondent] Mr. Chairman, were there any surprises today?

[Meciar] No. The parties' positions are pretty clear. We have nailed down our stands and have explained what we have in mind when applying certain concepts and how we envisage the future state setup. Most of the questions concerned the development of Czech-Slovak relations. We outlined new possibilities for developing these relations and a new image. Both chairmen gave their presentations, and contentious matters were clarified. We and Mr. Klaus agreed to brief the president regularly, beginning 17 June, to give him an objective idea of the stands of both parties.

[Correspondent] Did you discuss your proposal on rotating presidents?

[Meciar] No, we did not discuss that at all.

[Correspondent] And the vice president's function?

[Meciar] We mentioned the vice president's function only in passing. We focused instead on issues concerning adoption of the Slovak Republic's Constitution.

[Correspondent] Have you briefed the president on the coalition talks in Slovakia?

[Meciar] Yes. We are not holding coalition talks in Slovakia for there will be no coalition in Slovakia. We are only holding talks on possible cooperation with parties for their support in case of a vote of confidence for the government and a vote on the Slovak Republic's Constitution. We are also holding talks on coordinating steps to be taken in the Federal Assembly bodies. We are strong enough that a coalition is unnecessary.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct]

[Meciar] No, they were mutual. Our views on a number of issues we discussed with the president were new to him. The issue of accelerating development of the state setup by bringing forward the Slovak Republic referendum with the consequent solution of all the relations was discussed. We also thought about accelerating this by drafting a project on the Czech and Slovak sides on transferring from the present federative setup to a confederative one with a follow-up referendum in which the public could express themselves in the sense of a ratification. That means that they would not create this relation but confirm it. In this way, the project would present guarantees of the obligations and common interests which the Czech and Slovak side take upon themselves.

One of the main remaining differences between us is that we can and may accept united defense of the state without any encroachment from abroad. We are willing to accept one currency and the whole system of financial relations, which we will guarantee jointly. We are willing to solve a common economic policy. However, we strive for two subjects of international law. That is the basic difference. The existence of two subjects actually means recognizing a confederative setup.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct]

[Meciar] A gradual system of steps will be carried out in Slovakia if Slovakia is forced to continue single-handedly. We can change the rhythm and sequence of these steps if there is political agreement. Our manifesto states that Slovakia's sovereignty should be declared politically, that the Constitution should then be adopted, and that the referendum should then be held. We would like the deadline to be by the end of this year but no later than the first quarter of next year. Legislative, organizational, and technical reasons prevent an earlier deadline. We recommended to the Civic Democratic Party that a similar referendum be held in the Czech Republic. We agreed in Brno that there will be two referendums, at the request of the Czech and Slovak National Councils. The Civic Democratic Party delegation stepped away from this project in Prague, saying that it will not hold the referendum.

[Correspondent] Mr. Meciar, have you discussed what steps will be taken if you do not reach agreement with the Civic Democratic Party on 17 June?

[Meciar] It is hard to assume that all essential problems can be resolved after two eight-hour talks. On what

points are we close with the Civic Democratic Party? We can agree on the structure of Federal bodies and the central bodies of state administration. Both of us intend to respect the current constitutional status quo and to help ensure that the Federal Assembly can function, that the Federal Government can function, that the president of the Republic can function. Opinions differ on presidential candidates and on the position of state secretaries. Other matters can be resolved. The set of political agreements to be concluded remains controversial. There are two alternatives: alternative A says that political agreements would be concluded for the time being until the Slovak Republic referendum is held; alternative B says that this would be for a longer period. We are ready to accept an even longer term situation, referring to the well-known biblical dictum that the government must act as if it went on living for the whole four years and live as if it had to fall tomorrow. In this respect, there are alternative ways to talks. We are not closed. Obviously, we will not agree on the result concerning constitutional matters, but we can agree on the steps that will lead to that result. We are closer on economic matters than we originally thought.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] that you suddenly had a tete-a-tete with the president?

[Meciar] Our steering committee's deliberations decided on presidential election matters, as well as on candidacy. It is good manners to come and announce the stand of one's party, moreover since I was invited to this meeting.

[Correspondent] Mr. Chairman, which [words indistinct] will be (?amended) in [word indistinct] government program statement?

[Meciar] First, we discussed the land ownership law since more than half of owners are excluded from transformation processes due to the land registration status in Slovakia. That law is unjust, it affects too many people unnecessarily, and it must be amended. We also discussed social issues; for instance, we consider it socially unjust when pensioners pay double income tax. There are other laws, including those related to privatization policy. We suggest expanding this by adding new forms of privatization—that is, privatization by leasing and the possibility of privatizing by company employees. This means adding two more methods to coupon privatization. We also move to abolish the screening law. Agreement on this issue will probably not be reached since this is an exceptionally sensitive matter for the Civic Democratic Party. We also recommend amending some tax laws. There are more issues, but I would rather not give the full list.

[Correspondent] Who will you nominate for president?

[Meciar] No, we will not do this. We agreed that the presidential candidate can be a Czech citizen if the candidate for Federal Assembly chairman is a Slovak citizen. This is why we expect Czech political parties will nominate their candidates. We will not do this.

[Correspondent] What about the Federal prime minister?

[Meciar] We have not yet reached agreement on this. There are two ways to approach this issue. We propose considering parity on four important posts: president, Federal prime minister, Federal Assembly chairman, and Supreme Court chairman. If this principle is respected, the Federal prime minister should be Slovak. On the other hand, it has been proposed to expand on the judicial bodies to include the constitutional court and general prosecutor's office. The general prosecutor's office is not the constitutional court. Considering the qualities of the Slovak who currently holds this post, a democratic and highly qualified Czech would be more acceptable to us.

[Mediator] Ladies and gentlemen: This will be the last question. Mr. Chairman must leave for Bratislava.

[Correspondent] Mr. Meciar, could you tell us the difference between an economic and defense union and a federation?

My second question: How do you imagine joint defense in Slovakia?

[Meciar] As far as defense and economic union is concerned, this was an expression used by one member of our delegation. I immediately pointed out that this does not refer to some kind of an economic and defense community but that it has wider implications for mutual relations. The media has caught onto and is using this term, which should not be used to interpret the Slovak side's real view.

As far as joint defense is concerned, so far it has been characterized by a unified system of bodies in charge of defense, i.e. the Federal Assembly decides on war and peace, and there is a Defense Ministry and general staff. A common defense doctrine would help secure this. We do not intend to alter this unified defense doctrine or the Army's organization and structure. If there are any differences, then they will only be of a psychological character, aimed at distinguishing units deployed in Slovakia from units deployed in the Czech Republic perhaps by an arm band or something like that. These would not determine our joint defense. As far as the question of war and peace is concerned, the joint jurisdiction of a joint legislative body would be preserved if foreign affairs powers are divided.

[Mediator] Ladies and gentlemen: I thank Mr. Chairman...

[Correspondent] How are the talks with the president important to you?

[Meciar] First, they were exploratory. We briefed each other on our stands and views. After all, there has been a wide information vacuum.

Second, the president will appoint the Federal Government. This is his right. He is entitled to regular briefings

on how the talks progress and on their direction. He is entitled to express his view on the proposed people. We also envisage that if the two sides clash in conflict, the president puts somebody in charge of talks. If this obstacle becomes impossible to overcome, then the president must decide who will continue talks. This is why our talks were important.

[Correspodent] Do you intend to continue talks?

[Meciar] This kind of situation is only tackled when it emerges. This has not been the case so far.

[Mediator] Ladies and gentlemen: I thank Mr. Chairman.

Ladies and gentlemen: President Vaclav Havel.

[Havel] As you know, I met an HZDS delegation headed by Chairman Meciar. I spoke with him for an hour before holding talks with the entire delegation. We addressed a wide range of issues. The delegation explained their view on our future state setup. They reported on the course of their talks with the Civic Democratic Party. We agreed that both chairmen—or, respectively, both delegations—will come to the Castle to brief me on the course of these talks after every round of talks.

It has been shown that there are several areas in which there is more or less general agreement. It has been confirmed that in the fundamental and most important matter, there is no agreement. In accordance with its election program and its stand in talks with the Civic Democratic Party, the HZDS insists on its idea of two subjects of international law, which is something different to a common state. The HZDS feels that this should not be a case of transformation of our federation in such a way that a continuity of one subject of international law should remain while only the internal organization of the state is changed; it should instead really be a case of setting up two states as two subjects of international law.

We devoted a lot of time to possible technicalities in transferring from the federative state to some other form of state setup based on two separate states. I underlined the need for this process to be peaceful and to take place in the spirit of mutually friendly Czech-Slovak relations. The delegation fully agreed with this view. I stressed that I feel that the first step should be a referendum, the only constitutional way in which this change can take place. I emphasized that there should probably be parallel referenda in the two Republics, according to Paragraph 2, Article 1 of the Referendum Law—that is, a kind of parallel departure of the two Republics from the federation. However, this is a matter for coalition partners to discuss further. There seems to be many indications that this would be the easiest way to secure a peaceful course of further operations.

We agreed that the course should not be confrontational. I stressed that I feel that it would not be good if the Slovak side were to anticipate the referendum's outcome and take any kind of constitutional, unilateral steps. This would be a kind of fait accompli and would ultimately make the referendum pointless.

I stressed that the referendum should be held as soon as possible since Czechoslovak citizens have the right to know in what kind of state they will live, whether it be one state or two. They have the right to know soon. It is in the interest of both Republics and all their international connections and cooperation that this matter be decided soon. If possible, it must take place calmly and without any kind of evocation of feelings of spurned affection, disappointment, revulsion, intolerance, or acts of revenge. It should not take place in a confrontational atmosphere.

It seems that negotiation on the Federal Goverment's structure will be easy, particularly on its basic program and its staffing. It seems that agreement on this issue is possible.

So much for the introduction. If there are any questions...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Havel] I can say that there were no great differences in interpretation on the whole. There were differences in accent, in quotations, in hidden meanings, in the importance attributed to one or the other statement, and in the interpretation of the motivation which makes one or another person say one thing or another. Differences were evident in all of that. However, as far as the merit of the matter is concerned, it seems to me there were no large differences.

I feel that it was important—and we returned to this several times during the talks—to hear whether the HZDS feels we should live in one state or in two. I stressed that there was nothing in between. We can imagine two states cooperating very closely, linked by an indefinite number of various agreements and treaties on custom-free zones, economic cooperation, the free movement of labor, and a number of other things. We can certainly imagine that. However, it was necessary to clarify whether we were speaking about one state or two. This is important in the eyes of international law.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, did the HZDS explain why they are not supporting your presidential candidacy?

[Havel] That was one of the topics of our face-to-face talks. We agreed that we will not issue a public report on those talks.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct]

[Havel] Today's talks somehow did not give me any reason to say anything different than what I said in yesterday's "Conversations at Lany" program. I will repeat one sentence from "Conversations at Lany" for I am not sure whether the press noticed it: I will not desert

the public, and I know myself well enough that I will not be expelled from public life easily.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct]

[Havel] We reached preliminary agreement that I will receive the entire Civic Democratic Party delegation on 16 June because I have not received them yet. I spoke only with Chairman Klaus. I will receive the entire delegation, just as I received the entire HZDS delegation today. We will meet after every coalition meeting from then onward. They will come here together to brief me on the talks so that I can consider further steps in case of consensus or disagreement.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, I got the impression from your introduction that further talks between the Civic Democratic Party and the HZDS will be on the split of the state only and that the federation has no chance of surviving. Am I wrong ?

[Havel] I cannot predict what course further talks will take. I cannot know in advance. I have developed the impression I have talked about, namely that the alternative of continuing as a federation, the federation in its present form—that is, the federation as a state that is one internationally recognized legal entity in the eyes of international law—is an alternative that the HZDS does not accept.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, I would like to ask why you and Mr. Meciar did not brief us together?

[Havel] I assume that I have the right to brief correspondents on my own and to speak for myself in my own office.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, how did Mr. Meciar react to your argument that Slovakia [words indistinct]?

[Havel] I cannot say that—Michal Zantovsky was there, so let him correct me if I mediate this wrong—I cannot say that my argument was met with an unequivocal, energetic, and imperative no. I cannot say that. Mr. Meciar was sympathetic to my arguments. However, by saying this I do not mean that he has given up his planned schedule of steps. As we shared opinions, Slovak representatives presented the argument that Slovakia must be sovereign before it, as a nation, can decide on any step toward creating a new state. They presented the argument that a girl must be 18 before she weds. There were also arguments that prior to the referendum, prior to the act which would declare the Slovak Republic an entity of international law—if that happens, then it would mean the same for the Czech Republic—Slovakia must have time to build certain structures that would be ready to take over functions ensuing from Slovakia's new position. I objected to this, saying that certain decision should be made first. One should ask citizens what they want and only then should one start to build structures that would carry out this decision by the citizens. If the decision in the referendum is in favor of both states seceding, in favor of creating two entities of international law, there will undoubtedly be enough time before such a decision would become realistically valid to build such structures. The constitution would have to be adopted and relevant bodies created. It seems to me that there will be enough time for that after the decision is made. These things should not be prepared before the citizens decide.

[Mediator] Ladies and gentlemen: These will be the last two questions.

[Correspondent] My colleagues told me shortly before 2200 that Minister Dyba was called to the Castle on short notice. Can you comment on this report?

[Havel] I know nothing about this.

[Correspondent] Is it possible that the concept you arrived at is that the federation will continue or that a [word indistinct] divorce should take place?

[Havel] The purpose of the meeting was not to decide on this state's future. The purpose of the meeting was to brief me on HZDS stands and on the course of coalition talks. I discussed the HZDS view. As everyone knows, I support a federation, though markedly and fundamentally transformed from inside. However, this is my view. The public's view is decisive.

[Mediator] Ladies and gentlemen: Thank you...

[Correspondent in English] Mr. President, Mr. Klaus has said many times that the Czech Republic does not need to wait until (?next year) for a referendum because of economic and other numerous reasons. If the Czech parliament decides on a referendum in the Czech Republic, will you support it?

The second question: Are you convinced of the HZDS's democratic intentions?

[Havel] As for the first question, I think that it is in the interest not only of the citizens of the Czech Republic but also the citizens of the Slovak Republic that a decision is made soon. Any vacuum, uncertainty, or alarm which would drag on would be contrary to their interests. Every day added to this time of uncertainty brings irreparable losses. This is the view I presented.

As for the second question, the HZDS has assured me of its democratic aims and intentions.

Basic Treaty Documents Exchanged With Poland

LD1506205292 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Maciej Kozminski, the Polish ambassador to Hungary, exchanged the ratification documents of the Hungarian-Polish Basic Treaty, in Budapest on Monday [15 Jun].

"The treaty is the continuation of the traditions of Hungarian-Polish historical friendship," Jeszenszky said. "It relies on a historical model which indicates that friendly relations can be upheld and that the sharpening of conflicts should not necessarily follow the collapse of the communist regimes."

Maciej Kozminski also appreciated the centuries-old Polish- Hungarian friendship, which could serve as an example to the peoples of Europe. It indicates that good relations can remain lasting even amidst the changes.

The Friendship and Good Neighbourly Cooperation Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Poland was ratified by the Hungarian National Assembly in early June. The document sets down the main principles of extensive bilateral cooperation, and also includes detailed security policy points. Accordingly, the two countries will hold regular consultations on security and defence issues, develop military cooperation, including military technology and defence industry cooperation.

The document also sets down consultation mechanisms for situations that endanger peace and the sovereignty of the two countries.

Further on Smallholders' Party Incident

LD1506210292 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The spring sitting of the Hungarian National Assembly ended with the Monday [15 Jun] session of parliament. On Tuesday, MPs will continue their work in the framework of the summer session.

On Monday, MPs continued the detailed debate over amending the law on the protection of trade union assets. Parliament voted to put the bill on the implementation of the 1991 state budget on its agenda, with an emergency motion.

The issues of political clashes taking place in the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP), mainly connected to Party President Jozsef Torgyan, were also discussed in the course of Monday's session.

Minister of the Interior Peter Boross set forth the position of the government with respect to the events that took place on Thursday, June 11, in, and in the vicinity of, the Independent Smallholders' Party headquarters.

He said several reports arrived simultaneously, from various employees of the ISP, to the police headquarters of Budapest's 5th district, the Budapest Police Headquarters, and to the National Police Headquarters. Jozsef Torgyan personally telephoned the duty section of the Budapest Police Headquarters.

In the wake of these reports, several police cars arrived at the scene, and measures were taken exclusively on request. The police proceeded lawfully and professionally, the minister said. He denied that any member of the National Security Office or the Military Security Office had been on the scene.

As reported earlier, Torgyan held a press conference on June 12 about the alleged coup against him on Thursday, June 11. Among other things, the ISP president said:

"A military action was, in effect, organised to deprive the Smallholders' Party of its independence, and to remove its president."

On Thursday, June 11, ISP General Secretary Bela Nemeth, and Vice Presidents Sandor Cseh, Jeno Gerbovits and Gyula Lehoczky, wanted to relieve Torgyan as ISP president. They justified their decision by saying the ISP president had committed serious disciplinary offences.

At the press conference on June 12, Torgyan also said his party had evidence to prove the participation of members from military counter-intelligence, the military police and the National Security Office in the action. The area outside the party centre was cordoned off for the time of the action, commando units lined up, telephones were silenced centrally, and armed people threatened the staff members present.

"It appears probable that the commando force was ordered to the centre by Bela Nemeth, Jeno Gerbovits, Sandor Cseh and Gyula Lehoczky," Torgyan said.

In the end, the party president was freed by his adherents armed with sticks and flagpoles.

On Monday in parliament, Torgyan reacted to Minister of the Interior Boross' remarks as ones that attacked him personally. Contrary to what the minister said, Torgyan again reconfirmed that a military attack actually did take place on June 11 against the ISP headquarters, the main evidence for which was, in his view, the cordoning off of the area, the silencing of telephone lines, the erected road blocks and the appearance on the scene of a military patrol car.

In conclusion, Torgyan called on the prime minister to draw the proper conclusions from the incident, and to resign.

Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad noted in connection with the debate that investigations by the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office will provide an opportunity for parliament's competent committee to hold an investigation into the matter, as was requested by Torgyan.

According to a communique of the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, the minister of the interior and the minister of defence on Monday lodged a report against MP Jozsef Torgyan, who four days ago made statements that lend themselves to being used to undermine confidence in the authorities that operate under the supervision of the two ministers. The ministers are requesting the proceedings under the crime of insulting authorities, committed in public.

Antall Discusses Problems at Monument Unveiling

LD1506205992 Budapest MTI in English 1833 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—The world historical significance, and the still valid lessons of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight of 1956 were stressed in the course of a ceremony held in Budapest's Rakoskeresztur Cemetery, at Plot 301, to unveil a monument to the martyrs of the 1956 events.

Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, who is currently in Rio de Janeiro at the Earth Summit, sent a letter on the occasion of the ceremony, and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall delivered a speech.

In the letter, the president underlined that without the actions by the heroes of the 1956 revolution, the history of not only Hungary, but Europe and even the world would have developed differently. The letter recalled the national unity that came about during the revolution in Hungary, which was unique in the country's history.

In his speech, the prime minister said the revolution focused the attention and respect of the world's "better half" on Hungary. The West woke up to the terrible nature of a dictatorship in 1956, and came to understand that this "small nation" was fighting not merely for itself. Antall referred to the national unity that came about during the revolution, which became the symbol of concord.

Discussing the present, Antall said serious problems burden Hungary in view of the transformation and restructuring taking place, "but what we have achieved is tremendous, measured on a historical scale".

Antall said the Hungarian transformation can still go both ways, as although the Soviet Union has broken up, there remains an uncontrollable army, and battles are raging along Hungary's southern border. He said: We should be aware that transformation could still fail, and it depends on us whether we let ourselves be "taken apart"....charlatans and political clowns cannot play a role in this country, Antall added.

The prime minister also said the developed world must come to understand that inasmuch as Eastern Europe is not successfully stabilised, they cannot shut themselves in behind the walls of well- being, and the entire world would be threatened by a catastrophe.

President Walesa Addresses Solidarity Congress

LD1306212992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0840 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Question and answer session with President Lech Walesa at the Solidarity Congress in Gdansk on 12 June—recorded]

[Text] [Walesa] I would like to greet you most sincerely, ladies and gentlemen, and talk man to man. You received certain documents a moment ago, and some of you believe in them. I have brought my own materials and we will see what percentage of you will believe in them. I know that you have been working hard today, so that is why I think it is not the time for empty words. The time is for a man to man talk. I just want to recall that I have told you, your representatives, many times that whenever there is the slightest doubt as to the actions of the president, whenever there are misunderstandings, then please remember that I went in your name to fill this post, not in my o wn name. It is appropriate to immediately call me and tell me, pal, it is not supposed to have been like this. Pal, we did not struggle for this. Always give an opportunity for defense, and then make your own decision. That is why I do have some complaints about the fact that we quickly lay blame, we quickly forget. I have not forgotten about you. Furthermore, I want to say that I apply this principle: Let the left hand not know what the right is doing, and I will prove a few things for you here, about which you do not even know in your union. I will prove to you things that are quite big. But for this to happen, as I said, it is not the time to drag things out. You are tired.

We move to a man to man talk, and meanwhile I request that, and I do not have many requests, just as someone scattered leaflets here anonymously, mine have a signature. I do not have very many as I did not have the time for preparation. Let someone distribute them—three or four texts for every table—for you to see. And then, after reading them, to believe or not.

I surrender to you for a thorough, man to man talk, in which there will be a reply to all the questions, and it is for you to select what is true and what is false, who is in the right and who is not.

[Unidentified congress chairman] Ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the adopted procedure, we commence the series of questions.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. President, why do you always speak of the surrender to you of strong power and do not talk at all of why you need this power, especially in economic matters? Your support for Prime Ministers Balcerowicz and Bielecki causes one to suppose that you will exploit your strong power against us, that is against the workers.

[Walesa] Sir, and you believed in it. Who am I? Who am I? A worker from the Gdansk shipyard. I did not leave for Warsaw. I will immediately return and will live among you. What am I? A sadist? I went to rob you? I went, I do not know, to stuff my face? Now you say what do I need strong power for? So as to fulfill that what I cannot fulfill. You know my proposals. From the very start I am struggling for the 100 million. [as heard] From the very start I am struggling for the fast resolution of matters. But the democracy that we have won for ourselves gives up these prerogatives of implementation to the government. The president on his own—I personally sought that the president, the previous one, not have such strong power, so that he could not do much for himself.

I myself fell into my own net. And that is why I also struggle for effectiveness to be improved. [as heard] I struggle for there to be a lightning reaction to all hurts and needs. For the time being I have not won such an opportunity, and you often tell me, you often blame me for everything. On the other hand, I have no opportunity of implementation because the government is for that, it is democratically elected, and it is to implement this. On the other hand, the bill is sent to the president because we elected him. Let him implement. We are less concerned about how.

[Unidentified deputy congress chairman] Mr. President, I am the deputy chairman of this congress, and my obligation is inter alia the gathering and presentation here, in the hall, to this congress, of statements and letters that come from across the whole country. Here there are contained tears, [v ord indistinct], anger, and powerlessness. After three years, since the formal overthrow of communism, the communist structures are still among us. After three years. The communist structure of the state is among us! The communist constitution is among us, the electoral law thanks to which the parliament is a parliament out of an operetta. But apart from that, everyone sees that solely the nomenklatura arisen from out of that system and a few wide-boys are enriching themselves on that which is taking place in Poland.

[Congress chairman] Thank you very much...

[Deputy congress chairman interrupts] But, just one more sentence, I must tell the president—this nation, after these experiences it can be seen, is in a state of complete disbelief in ideals, the ideals of August [1980]. And we, as Solidarity, today stand before a great dilemma. What do we do with this after three years, when we are at the rear, at the rear of the transformations. We were the first.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I too am facing this same dilemma—an identical one. I want to say, furthermore, that we are incapable of ruling. We are not capable of choosing. Someone throws us topics, less important ones, and those that the nation lives with are left alone, unresolved, or else badly resolved. All of this is true. But it is also true that no one, including myself, has found a solution. Either we are incapable, and the president is incapable, or else someone must do this for us. Or

finally, nonetheless, we will change the mechanisms, the structures, our procedure in such a way so as to take command over all of this. I also see in black these, this [words indistinct], when (?the man) in euphoria carried and announced leader by the workers is today made fun of, today insulted, degraded. For what I ask myself. Have I done anything of which I could be ashamed or else have I not done that which I could carry out? Find me such things that I have not carried out. It is appropriate to only do that which I can carry out. When we addressed you, society, we said: Nation, it is necessary to choose and organize so that intelligent programs and intelligent people find themselves in parliament and then in the government. Part of society refused us participation. We have the parliament that we have—and nothing disturbed them—we have the president that we have, and we have the results that we have. The question is: Will we finally wake up? Will we finally throw out everything, up to and including the president, and still resolve the problems?

I understand the (?price). I am ending. Ladies and gentlemen, I will sit down with you with the greatest pleasure, with the greatest pleasure, if someone here, your most excellent delegate, will do this faster, better, and immediately. I will even not announce him in public. I will tape up my mouth. I will let him manage in my conditions, with my opportunities. Let him do better and I will give the greatest financial bonus that I can afford to prove. I will do this to thank him. This looks nice—you are activists and you yourselves know what a lot can be done in the conditions in which we have all found ourselves, from you up to and including the president.

[Jan Halas, representative from Gdansk region] Mr. President, after this statement that it is so difficult for you, that you are among us, are from Gdansk, from this shipyard, how are we to understand your statement that it is easier for you to work with the Security Service than with your colleagues? Or with colleagues altogether?

[Walesa] Yes, a very beautiful question. Ladies and gentlemen! So we have slid onto the subject that is, I think, the most important one. We have slid onto the subject in which it will be necessary to prove what degree one hand and what sort of agent one was. Ladies and gentlemen, I have already distributed to you the materials. You will look at this. There will be other materials as well. But now we are going straight to this reply. After all, you know our struggle, you know these documents that have now been scattered to all of you. The Security Service, the communist authorities, did not use these documents because they knew that these documents are fabricated, and you have the name before you there. It did not have this purposefulness. The greatest disgust is in the fact that colleagues, friends, did this. They did this in this hall too, hiding, not standing into the eyes, not speaking the truth. This is disgusting. I did not meet this from the hands of that regime. The (?planting of materials) was done from the start. I do not say that I am a holy man. I do not say that I did not perpetrate an error. I have 50 books here. "The Road of Hope" on page 66 says that you will get more. I did not have any more. It says that I continued a heroic struggle on my own, alone, very frivolous and incapable, from 1970, from the moment when I got stuck in the Gdansk strike. I continued the struggle unprepared. Then I made mistakes. It is on this page. I made mistakes, but not such as were later fabricated. I made a whole host, through not knowing things, and the mistakes were based on two components. First, I signed three for sure, maybe four—I do not remember exactly—documents at that time. The first document related to the fact that I did not take firearms, for after all we disarmed the militia then [in 1970]. The second document related to the fact that I will not spread disturbance, for there was disturbance. The third document related to the fact that I will not tell what took place at the questioning. The fourth—I do not remember because it was over 20 years ago. It was not now. Today, I see heroes—those were not these times. There were paths of health, other things. And if on the other hand there was a fourth one, I state that this document was neither a document on collaboration nor a cash receipt documentation. This I state to everyone and to agents.

My second mistake at that time, but in any case I repeated this mistake many times, I do not regard as a mistake. That means I behaved as if I gave hope and opportunities. Saying this I am tired. Some people could draw the conclusion from this that Walesa will [word indistinct]. Once more I applied this, too, some kind of ambiguity, in the shipyard in August—you have the document there. This document is addressed to Edward Gierek as a dedication—I don't remember exactly when, but it was 1988, 1989, or maybe 1991, but towards the very beginning. I was not even dreaming of the presidency—and he sent me the book through some editor. I sent him mine back—and you have the text there. It says: Mr. Gierek—for his book also said that Walesa was a kind of [word indistinct]—Mr. Gierek, this is what it said: There were agents at the Gdansk shipyard during the strike. One of them tried to collaborate with me and to get me out to Pruszcz [district of Gdansk] to talk to you, but I was trained 10 years before and I used this trick—and I write about it, you have got the photocopy—I said: Yes, sir, we will talk. I kept the man exactly two days. We had 500 factories and he came to me for a second time and I said to him: My dear man, there is the door. Will you leave by yourself or will I throw you out? You have this in the text, if I remember right. That is what my mistakes looked like—my individual, private struggle, about which there can be reservations. But when we began to fight in free trade unions, when August came and the joint, mass struggle— if you find a speck of dust on my soul or body then do not let me leave here. [sentence as heard] If I betrayed anybody in word, thought, or deed, then may I not leave this hall! Is that enough of an answer to your question? I think we will explain it further in the next one.

[Congress chairman] Thank you. Microphone number nine.

[Adam Finduka, representative from Rzeszow region] Mr. President, I have had the undoubted honor of taking part in two previous Solidarity congresses. It didn't happen then that the debating hall was combed by men in balaclavas. Have you lost confidence in Solidarity then?

[Walesa] Dear brother, do you think I am the president by accident. There are certain rules, right and wrong. I do not set them. I am not paid for this. And yes, when Vice President Bush was coming, I had one week. I could not stand it. Vice president! And here you have the best president in Central Europe and you want it to be different. Bravo! We will prove it. We will prove it still.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number seven.

[Antoni Boruch, representative from Lodz region] Mr. President, I gave a short statement to the presidium. Could it be read out please? The statement is signed.

[Walesa] I haven't got it.

[Boruch] To the presidium, the chairman.

[Unidentified speaker reads Boruch's statement] Mr. President Lech Walesa. What is happening in the country, and you have sparked it, is, in brief, a scandal. Your rules have led to the fact that, instead of communists left in socks, millions of honest Poles and myself are left in socks. I withdraw my support for you that I gave in the election. I will never get involved in an alliance with communists. Signed by Antoni Boruch, representative from Lodz region, mandate number 83.

[Boruch] Thank you very much.

[Walesa] I reply. It looks really nice and I will clap my hands but let us analyze it. First, my governments were not mine but ours which were formed in various ways, voted by the parliament. I have little to say but as far as the last government is concerned, I almost did not have any influence at all. That is the first thing. Now, you think, sir, that what happened recently is a very bad move by the president, your previous colleague, and now the mandate I have lost. But gentlemen, the commission will be formed shortly on the meeting of the Sejm, now, at my request, which will prove to you, all of Poland, and the world that if I do not make this move then this congress will probably not take place and I will be in Arlamow.

I will prove this to you. I will prove this to you, not I, but the Sejm commission. Precisely so, ladies and gentlemen, so far did irresponsibility, so far did lack of intelligence and lack of preparation go that I am convinced that if I had not carried out this move, today we would truly be in a different situation. This I already stated in public, and the internal affairs minister has also told you a little about this. The jokes ended here. There was a serious game of forces here who wanted to keep themselves in power, casting out unprepared (?files). I am for the precise and joint—together with the union, with delegates—clarification of all matters that regard agents and this state of affairs that was proposed to us, and then only let us talk.

Now, the second move. I saw that which I am telling you, and I am convinced about it, but you do not have to believe in it. What move remains for the president who sees activity that is moving towards this? And so the move remained, to gain command of the two institutions, the police and the Army, so that there will not be a tragedy in Poland. How might this be attained? Surely not as you propose to me, surely not thus, that means the government would be recalled but it would fulfill its obligations. I count on this, [words indistinct]. It would fullfil that which it intended for itself. I had to make another move, erect a prime minister who will pass, who will pass on this divided stage, and nothing. I bet all your money, not mine, that no one would have passed at this stage. There was one candidate who the left pushed through as well, and he was necessary for this, for him to immediately take command over the two largest organizations that could do great and irresponsible things.

This move I carried out one hundred percent. If I made a mistake it will be necessary to return and clarify it. On the other hand, in the name of responsibility for Poland, in the name of this congress taking place and bringing the president to account, I had to do this. I had to calm things down. I had to takeover and restore authority to parliament and to you. Make an account book now as to who was wrong, and then you will judge me or those who prepared the tragedy. But let us assume things differently again, that all this together with these letters is true. Ladies and gentlemen, how do we look before each other, before Poland, before the world? Who does not love this nation? Who hates Solidarity? Who wants to foul and destroy it? Would I, even if I was an agent? It would have been necessary to come quietly—you boor, come, look, go away, do not foul everything, do not admit to it because we will smash you in the gob. Go away, because the sacred thing that defeated communism cannot just be fouled like that. That is how people behave.

And how these ones behaved—that is like the people who hate you and hate Poland, and profer topics, let them be brought to book. You bring them to book! But let them not be brought to book in such a way! Let them not destroy the remaining things that remain of you and of me.

[Unidentified speaker] But please explain how it is that we had an opportunity in this country, because I will not touch on whether you are Bolek or not, but it interests me how it is that there was an opportunity to cut away from communism, for the revelation of (?the rats) and to clearly say who is who in this state, in this union, in this government, or anyone else. And you carried out in one night a parliamentary coup and brought about the condemnation of these people.

[Unidentified speaker] Do you as the president of the first republic after the war, after the communist misery,

do you want to make everyone look stupid because everyone can be called or judged the Security Service agent today. But the first thing, when there was a chance you destroyed it. But the cards should be clear. I said once, during the campaign, when we were canvassing, that we sat down with card sharks, the communists, to play the game. I have the impression that we have card sharks playing the trade union.

[Walesa] I repeat once again. We have to do that and I encourage this. But you said at the end of your speech that every second one of us is an agent. I did not want it. I wanted the wisdom to take over, not interrupt it. It cannot be interrupted. It must be done. We will do it, hopefully as soon as possible. But not in this manner, not the way it has been done. Ladies and gentlemen, do you believe that is the way? It is not the last lunge at the finish tape of the government that wanted to defend itself. Why do you believe in different concepts? Why do you believe others but you cannot trust the president? Or you would not trust the Sejm commission or commissions, or you say again that Walesa had such an influence over the government, the parliament that he has listened to? The parliament has been accepting it.

Of course, and I was going there, but parliament does not love me that much, you know well about that. And so, sir, I do not want to (?beat) them. The (?danger) was stopped. On the other hand it is necessary to return to the topic of agent, informer, but not thus. Do you know how many people are already today in the hospital on account of this? Do you know in what way people became agents? After all you are, you really do not know? And you want to judge? There are people who did so out of fear. There are people who are spiteful. There are people who produced reports. There are people who were betrayed by their neighbors for their (?horse). You cannot, without familiarizing yourself with all of this, do this. You have my letter. I was put inside by (?Naszkowski) on instruction. You do not believe me? You believe the old Security Service men? You believe in prepared papers? I am not capable of betraying you. I rescued you, your family, your neighbors. On the other hand, what must be done? No one will (?squirm out). Only not with such a throw, not without logic, without any thought, not with a throw onto the table so as to quarrel in Poland. Do we quarrel little? Are there few problems? Is this already the most important problem? Yes? Then it will transpire for you only when they come to you, and you will see your papers. The papers in Warsaw are not much paper. What papers have been prepared for you by the neighbors, and others, they are in the regions. You will be surprised. I know about this because I was an agent, yes?

[Robert Topczynski, representative from Silesia-Dabrowa Basin region] Mr. President, after 1983, after receiving the Nobel Prize, the Nobel Peace Prize, I came with two friends from the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] Mine to support you, for you to know that we are with you. Today, two things create a (?gulf) between us. We do not understand ourselves. Once we understood each other. [Words indistinct] for instance, Senator Romaszewski did not block your access to television, but you speak with this language [words indistinct].

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I know that Romaszewski spoke here. I know that he started up programs entitled Rodacy [countryside]. Let us think what purpose this was to serve? Let us be serious, we know each other on first name terms. [sentence as heard] And that is the first point.

The second is that when Mr. Romaszewski entered a studio...[Walesa changes thought] I ordered that things should be done exactly the same way as Romaszewski and company did with other people. Exactly—in no way differently. This was essential because all of this action—which will be clarified by a Sejm commission—all this action was coordinated through information with the guard—which the minister revealed here—of the entire transmitter and all the media. [sentence as heard]

Just a minute, ladies and gentlemen! I do not want to say too much here because this must be dealt with by the commission. All these things, together with the television information, had to be done because of compatriots, because it was a provocation, because this was a desire to hot things up so that the masses would go forward—we saved all this at the very last second.

However, in the future, in no more than a month's time, no, earlier, as early as the first Sejm session, there ought to be a resolution on television introduced, a law, which would finally regulate this whole system.

Now, to go back to television: It is a good thing that you mentioned it, sir. Just lately, dissatisfied with television, I talked to the prime minister. I said: Prime minister, they are getting at you, at me, they are not talking about people—this is not a good system and it must be changed. But the prime minister will let us speed up the law today and then we will think how to deal with this. So we agreed, concretely—I have witnesses—we agreed that there will not be any action because it would have been senseless to make corrections, then more corrections in a week's time, and yet more corrections. I am only going back to the (?agreements) of which we spoke, to the top—and the whole of television is there and has been changed. [sentence as heard] That is why it was not fair to everyone, the president, the guests that heard it, and it suggested why it was done. Again, in the name of responsibility for the state I made this decision, maybe wrong. I am convinced that it was not. But the Sejm commission will prove who is right in this argument and how it should be dealt with. I am convinced that it is right. But the law that will regulate this problem and will sort it out will be introduced shortly.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number three.

[Zdzislaw Malinowski, representative from Kujawy and Ziemia Dobrzynska region] Mr. President, every unionist, every activist, is a demagogue. We had conspiracy theories. Second, I took part in many meetings

with Mr. President and I would like to recall certain facts. When the trade union, shocked by the mess that existed so far turned to you, you, personally, threatened us that you will send the Army if we destabilize Poland. This is the fact. Janek Rulewski reminded you that maybe you came to the Belvedere Palace through the gate but be careful not to leave dressed up as a woman like Prince Konstanty. I have a question. If you care about Poland, the fatherland so much—if we, being in the revolutionary mood, try to end this mess, would you send in the Army?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, if there were arson attacks, looting, and other things, then I would not have a choice, even though I know you would hang me. I do not have, the president simply does not have, any choice. However, please, Poland is not mine. I am a weak president. Do not do it to Poland. Let us speed up presidential elections, throw it away. But do not destroy the home of your children, do not destroy Poland. We do not rule well, it is true, but it is not the reason to fight with each other.

I avoid that. I repeat once again—I avoid it. This does not show that I am a good president at all. I thought I would be good. I thought I could count on you. I thought we would understand each other for a long time. It turned out otherwise. That means I am weak, but not that way. I am ready immediately—but where is the money coming from? How can it be done? Believe me, really, I would have moved to Warsaw. I broke up my home. I broke up everything for I believed that you would believe me. The worst thing for me is that you just do not believe me. You believed in all the struggles; you believed in everything else but you did not believe in your former chairman.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number four.

[Jan Moszynski, representative from South Wielkopolska region] Mr. President, in many statements you say that in order to save the nation you had to form an alliance with the communists. We, as Solidarity, defending our order in Poland for three years, saving the country from the communists, from social unrest, did not have to consort with the communists. You say (?we should) apologize to you. I say openly here: I will apologize to you on my knees if you are not mistaken, but if you are mistaken, then will you resign?

[Walesa] I will apologize to you on my knees. [Indistinct altercation between them] I will apologize to you on my knees, if I...

[Moszynski interrupts] I will come to the Belwedere, but will you resign if you are mistaken?

[Walesa] Yes, I will resign.

[Moszynski] Clearly.

[Walesa] But hold on, hold on! What are you talking about? Hold on, hold on! I have agreed, but not totally. Hold on, hold on! You like that! But, ladies and gentlemen, he said in the initial version that I made an alliance with the communists. Well now! Remember the roundtable! How short our memory is! How short our memory is, for recently, on the anniversary of August [1980] and December [1981], I went to the monument alone! [near Gdansk shipyard] I had 300 people in the shipyard. There are witnesses here that when Minister Bush [as heard] growled everyone ran away. This is true. I had to use force to stop them. With this army I was sitting between two generals, I had to get the better of them, and I had to start those forces that are sitting here and somewhere else. I today, sir. If I had one tank in the year 1410 then I would have defeated both armies. You should go back to the situation we were in, to what was then the only thing at that time, maybe stupid but you assess it today that those alliances were wrong. Well, sir, I am not fully convinced. It was an evolution. I do not know. We could frontally attack tanks but there were no volunteers. Sir, when we were surrounded in the shipyard in the first days of 1989 or 1988 there were no volunteers. There was nothing to eat. We did not have support and you would want me to go to the roundtable with the generals and say: Gentlemen, you know, the government. I sit here. I am going to be the president. The game was that they thought that we would be naive and they would beat us at it. But I knew that if only I took a little you would do the rest. I cried. I defeated the Stocznia Remontowa [ship repair yard] by crying. I was exhausted. People, there is a chance, I feel. I do not have the proof. There is a chance, believe you me. I won, I went to the roundtable. An awful agreement, very bad. But not the betrayal. I did not betrayed you. Maybe behind the back but I do not believe it. I obtained as much as I could afford to and I had the knowledge about.

I believed in one thing—that you, by gaining a little...the others got cold feet, the others—not you, if you caught hold you would go on forward—and go you did and I had [word indistinct]. I know that as far as this factor is concerned the evolutionary road costs a lot; without putting in motion this possibility there was another way, a frontal one, to topple this system, to march on the tanks, and on the ZOMO [motorized units of civic militia]—such a way existed. I chose a different one because I always tried to spare every drop of blood. Perhaps this was a mistake, perhaps the other price would have been lower. I did not want to check. I chose this road. We have reached a point when we can (?support) the president, do everything together with him—so there is complete freedom, built on these rotten, miserable compromises. But (?the rest must be) an amendment, (?the rest must be amended), [word indistinct], yes indeed, we have fought and won such a law but there were no people willing to fight.

Do you not remember? When Rulewski marched on the enterprise they threw him out. Now when he goes there they open the gate for him. Yes, I remember this for in 1989 I was listening to the radio when he was trying to lead the fight. Now today he walks around and they open

doors for him. Today he is a great man—yet then what did they do? Have you forgotten? I have a good memory.

Yes, please. Microphone number five.

[Unidentified representative from Gdansk region] Mr. President, on 10 June at a meeting with representatives of work enterprises at the Belweder you declared that three Solidarity governments had been failures. Will the government formed by Prime Minister Pawlak, who has your support, be successful? Pawlak was elected thanks to the votes of the communists from the left, from the Union [Democratic Union], and so on. Will such a government gain the approval of Solidarity and the nation?

[Walesa] You stil' do not understand me. If I made a mistake it was in the conception. I was mistaken if we are talking about the danger, but I did what was possible. Give me one person from that parliament who would at the first attempt have come and taken control of the two structures, which in my opinion were endangered. Who would have done that? I made the first move. The second move belongs to those who now peacefully and without fear are carrying out the next work. I personally, I have the right, personally I like Pawlak but I absolutely do not think the prime minister is going to bring back communist governments or anyone. Already the first nominations show that people have come who are first, prepared, and second, from Solidarity and the rest please arrange so it will be good, so that government is ours, entirely ours, the best people. I am not fixing that. I only did what I had to and if I made a mistake then on our knees we are going to [word indistinct] agree.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number seven.

[Jerzy Langer, representative from Lower Silesia region] Mr. President, in 1981 and likewise in 1989, Solidarity seemed to be the hope of the majority of Poles. Today I understand that it does not represent precisely that majority. Its chairman, Lech Walesa, when deciding to run for the presidency, knew that. President Lech Walesa said he was the president of all the Poles. Today Solidarity is fighting for its own identity with difficulty, the president, however, has not understood that he quite simply cannot be the president of all Poles today.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, yes and no. I am not the president of criminals, thieves, and (?brilliant) agents who have destroyed Poland. That is certain. However, all the others, sooner or later, this country will be normal. Sooner or later, people after all gave someone there a mandate and they live in this Poland. I cannot not respect democracy.

After all they won second place in Poland—in the elections, many of them (?were not encouraged by you). I must be realistic. Am I not ashamed before the world and before Poland, am I not ashamed that we are incapable of governing? Gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen, is it pleasant for me that my child—our common struggle—looks like this? Do I not blame myself? I often blame myself. But give me better solutions. Who has ideas for a better presidency? I invite him and will hand over my salary to him, whoever applies. I was looking for twins—for twins are not bad—but I did not find them. I seek others. I propose to all and sundry: they complain, they come, they sit on armchairs, they arrange their own interests, they make grimaces, they do not listen to you, and they do not accept [as heard]. These are the effects we have after 50 years. I do not mention here that the whole system of communist economy has crashed; even Japan and the U.S. would have difficulties no less than ours if they were hit with such a tragedy as the collapse of the EEC.

That is why it is a sequence of events, a tangle of events, which has caused our terrible difficulties and our lack of preparation, our not preparing a program, our quarrelling, our bad choices, and the fact that we busy ourselves with other matters—all of us, myself included—this brings about such results.

The question as far as I am concerned remains: Will there be, in this country, enough strength? Not demonstrations and cries of "Burn the president!" You will burn him, you do not have to look far for him. But what will happen after that? Who will untangle it all? Who will untangle it better than they? Who has an idea? I beg him. I ask him urgently [prosic]. I will give him an airplane straight away—let him go and take my place. Truly believe. Why do you not want to believe? Why do you think that once you have chosen someone he is capable of doing things and I am not? Why do you think that? Why do you see Poland as a global and dreadful problem? Why do you think that (?I am) nasty, [word indistinct], have forgotten.

Can one forget more than 20 years of work? Can this be forgotten? Can one for a year be president and already be a president? Ladies and gentlemen, how do I convince you? How do I encourage you? How do I prove it to you? I do not know.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number eight.

[Jerzy Ber, representative from Mazowsze region] Mr. President, this is not the first time that you say that Poland needs a left leg and a right leg, too. Are you not afraid that the recently strengthened left leg will kick so the right leg, that Poland, will collapse and someone else will have to vault over the fence?

[Walesa] Sir, why do you not draw other conclusions? By my move, threat [word indistinct], the right leg will finally be strengthened. Why don't you think in this way? Why don't you draw this conclusion? Gentlemen, why you are always malicious? Why can you not see other solutions? This will pull together. This must pull together. The fact is that this will be a whip and it will pull together. We will calmly win. I repeat, I never was a communist and never support the communism but I have real power—facts. I have to solve them. Competently or not, right or wrong. But something causes your thinking and your disappointment. Something must

grow out of it. I have heard brothers who were shouting today: Polish [word indistinct], this movement is a betrayal. When it will be created you will forgive my betrayal.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number nine.

[Andrzej Szeczynski, representative from Elblag region] I should be glad that Mr. President came over here because thanks to this, I can see the full congress' presidium. But I think that one thing should be concrete. During the meeting with the Siec Network this week you said that there were three governments which did not do anything and you have found young and outstanding farmers. Where is this love for young, energetic farmers from the post-communist Polish Peasant Alliance coming from? Are there not enough young farmers in Poland?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, look. How many times do I have to prove that....

[Szeczynski interrupts] I have not finished yet.

[Walesa] But, sir, do not start. I can prove that this move in my stupid or bad concept was the only one and no one thought about the other. You can accuse me that I am not right. I could made a mistake as to the political situation. If I made a mistake then the other move as a second one is wrong. [sentence as heard] However, if I was not wrong, I did. U.S. or Japanese computers could not invent it better because no one was accepted in this parliament, in this situation. Not even one person I have found. Of course, the communists supported him, I counted on that. This is the awfulness of Walesa's game. Effectiveness.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. President, Poland and the society need consolidation. Solidarity to which you refer very often, forgetting that you are the former chairman and we have to remember it also needs consolidation. I have a question, for how long will you be using some trade union's structures for your temporary political objectives?

[Walesa] I will reply—until yesterday, does that help you? I am not capable. I am capricious. I was not afraid of the Security Service. I am only afraid of God and heaven [words indistinct] and now let us return to (?what we were talking about). But you think I do not help the Union in any ways, even financially. By the way, did Wujec not come to you six months or three years ago and throw an awful lot of money at you? Do you not know anything about this? Where is that cashier? You do not even know who. You do not even know how. You try to [word indistinct] over the cashier. I did not want to, but it is frightful. Your right hand does not know what the left is doing. I knew. I love this union.

[Congress chairman] Ladies and gentlemen, so that everything is in line with the truth [word indistinct] knew, someone else gave it.

[Walesa] But wasn't the president's prosperity in that by any chance? I suggest we close the subject as it is dangerous.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number nine.

[Unidentified representative from Slasko-Dabrowski region] Mr. President, as the chairman of NSZZ Solidarity, you personally and publicly declared your support and all possibilities of help for the disabled, of whom there are 4 million in Poland and nothing is said about them. Many people have no work or means to live, invalids' cooperatives are closing down, and people are thrown out on the street. People who originally were used for whatever they could do and they are now deprived of any kind of means to live. Do you now, as president, declare help for these people or would you prefer the whole mass to turn up at the Belvedere?

[Walesa] Please, sir, how am I supposed to reply? What am I to say in reply? Give me the best reply to bring the president in and I will do it. What am I to do? Have I got too much money? You think I have. Do I not see wrongs and misery? Yes. Do I not know where it comes from? I know. We work badly above all those who govern. The elites have not prepared solutions for us and they are not able to direct us well.

This includes me. This is all true. But it is also true that nobody is going to do it for us. The truth is that we must do it. The question is: With or without bruises? With a quarrel such as we have here—but one to which there will be a point—or just a quarrel with no point at all? Just lately I have been drawing the following conclusion: that apart from the fact that we govern badly, someone is constantly throwing alternative subjects at us in order to divert us away from solutions, in order to make us fall out with each other, for in these murky waters this someone means to fish.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number eleven.

[Franciszek Zielinski, representative from Zielona Gora] Mr. President, I would ask you to listen to and answer all the questions. You say that you did not lead the country to destitution. You have lead it to be another Bangladesh. Our beloved fatherland for which we fought together in 1980; you vaulted over the wall into the shipyard and I was almost thrown out of work for supporting Solidarity and to this day, I respect that ideal. But you do not respect either Solidarity, or your own nation. You have brought about a situation in which land lies fallow. Take a look, sir, at how things are: people do not have bread, there are starvation wages, and some people no longer have either wages or welfare.

Sir, you wear the Mother of God [Walesa wears a picture of the Virgin Mary on his lapel]; I am also a Catholic. So I am very glad, but where is your love for your neighbor? Mr. President, children do not have bread, there is a lack of medicine, there is a lack of beds in the hospitals—well, there are beds but there is no money to bring a person who is ill to the hospital. Our industry is, quite simply

and as they say, falling apart. (?Yet it worked), [word indistinct], and now today our industry has collapsed thanks to you. How do you see a way to save all this?

[Congress chairman] Please ask your question.

[Zielinski] Mr. President, when will you extend a helping hand toward your own nation, as president of the whole nation? Thank you.

[Walesa] Sir, if in that hand I had a big checkbook then I would go out so that the nation could put out a hand to me. You blame...[Walesa changes thought] Look, you all saw, ladies and gentlemen, [word indistinct]. You forgot to mention that your bicycle had broken down, that your fence has a hole. Everything is the president's fault—and no power at all. They take turns, they scheme, but I am to blame for everything. Do you think this is pleasant? Am I really to blame? You said that you loved Solidarity—well, sir, quite...[Walesa changes thought] This is the most tragic of all truths that we, together, did not manage—if we are to be personal—we did not manage to chose a good president, we did not manage to pick a good government, we did not manage to chose a program—but it was not just Walesa on his own. I believed, (?I pushed myself foward), I left the Union, do you remember what I said? I do not know if we can manage it. I will remind you of another thing. I was very afraid and I warned people at the first congress. The worse situation will be when we are not capable and they will throw stones and curse us. Look how close we have come to my prediction. But you will not save yourselves. It is not only Walesa. Not only me—it is all of us. This is yet another coincidence. It is not in accusations but in seeking (?personal assistants), program ones [w szukaniu zastepcow personalnych, programowych], in agreement let us sit down and say how, say who, and not talk of accusations. We accuse each other too much. We do not understand each other. We quarrel too much, and now we shall hear that every other person was an agent.

I see [the future] in very black colors, in very black colors—as I said yesterday. I am counting on people coming to their senses. I am counting on people not throwing accusations but drawing conclusions and seeking solutions. There is no other way—this country has fallen to the bottom in central Europe—and there is another possible ending: the president ridiculed in front of the whole world and in Poland. What can he do today if every tenth person believes this? [sentence as heard] Well, they have prepared for us—these heroes which you applaud—they have prepared a lovely situation for us: every other one an agent, a traitor, one who sells out. What is this nation to believe in?

[Congress chairman] Microphone number 12.

[Jerzy Obrebski, representative from Lodz region] Mr. President, you state that you have problems with everything. I would like to ask you, and I believe that you have the power to do at least this much for the nation, to broadcast today's debate tomorrow in the mass media, in Polish television, in order to prove that Solidarity did not betray the nation, that it desires Poland's good. This is something I would sincerely ask you to do. Thank you very much.

[Walesa] I shall add to that. I thought you would do it for me—that the former chairman and the current president never betrayed anyone nor the nation. Do you agree, sir? Thank you. The whole thing will be shown on television. Ha, ha, ha, Walesa. Let us laugh for what else is left to us...[Walesa changes thought] But things cannot go on as they are now. They really cannot. I shall do everything to ensure that the whole thing (?moves forward) even if it is true that we are so despicable; let us not take away the spirit from the nation. Who wanted to take everything, to fleece this nation? Do you not understand what a terrible misforturne has happened, and what even greater one threatened us? Have I still not proven this to you? I am not going to go into whether I am. [sentence as heard] You should have thrown me into the water and strangled me if that was what I was like—but not taken this banner away from the nation.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number three.

[Unidentified representative from Malopolska region] Mr. President, I—for a start—do not believe that every other Pole is an agent. That is why I will not ask you, sir, which of us two is an agent because I know the answer to that. I have listened to all the replies and they are all in the same mold: throwing the blame on anyone as long as it is not Lech Walesa. In the situation which we find ourselves in here in the Gdansk Shipyard—where we have returned to our point of departure—I have a question for [word indistinct]: Could the president look Zbigniew Romaszewski in the face? Thank you.

[Walesa] Yes. I would apologize to him for what happened. I would also tell him that, after all, we fought a good fight, and that instead of pushing him forward I supported Ziolkowska, not because I was for Ziolkowska but because he did not have a chance. There are certain things which I know. But you will not believe this because I am small and bad. Well, sir, that was the first point. I shall stand up, I shall apologize because things should not be like that even between colleagues. But did I (?repay him in the same way) as he did? I had to because what happened was unsure. At the time I did not trust—but probably I wronged him. This man is a man of worth and in other circumstances we shall (?be working for Poland) for regardless of what kind of person Walesa is he will act because he is a dedicated activist and a good one. But at that moment I did what I had to do. I have already told you all this.

And now you said, sir...[Walesa changes thought] Sir, it would be a bad thing if we were to say that every other Pole was an agent. I was only saying that the matter was like that in Czechoslovakia, in Germany—a matter [word indistinct] which must be done, but not in that way. And because I do not know, you do not know—now you know so let's do it, let's clean things up. This is a sort of physical confession [as heard] which is absolutely

essential for the nation. It must be done. But every agent, every situation is different. There had been...[Walesa changes thought] I have already told you, ladies and gentlemen, a cowardly agent, an agent who though that he could break up everything from the inside, a naive agent, different (?types) of agents, an agent of the Fifties when teeth were being knocked out, an agent from the Sixties, and there was an agent which I blame most, an agent who betrayed our cause—not a private agent, for that could be understood, but when activities began in free trade unions, in Solidarity—that kind of betrayal is another kind of betrayal. So already you see here that there are three categories of betrayal and already we must look at them differently. We have yet to discover what their effects were or was he perhaps only conned into it. You have the documents with the names officially given to you (?by the president) but he scrawled things out because it was a secret document and he did not want to get caught for revealing secrets.

That is why I have proof for you—on the basis of facts and names—of which some have been crossed out. That is why I return to this once more. It has to be done, but let us do it in such a way that there are no such tragedies as we have today.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number four.

[Walesa interjects] Ladies and gentlemen, one moment, just one more thing. Sir, you said that I throw everything unto you and unto Poland [words indistinct]. I repeat once more: I also thought I would cope better. I also made many mistakes because I had never been president before. But all this does not stem from the fact that I do not want to, it is not because (?I am) rotten, not because I betray—I do not know how to. [sentence as heard] I do not notice. I do not (?haggle). You can prove all this to me and it is sure that these things are true. On the other hand, the fact that I try; who would come knowing what had befallen me here, who would not try to avoid such things, who...precisely...who?

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. President, I agree with you that nothing has been stopped. But I get the impression that it has not been stopped because—for a long time now—it has been standing still. [Sentence indistinct] Mr. President, you very often repeat that you cannot, that you are incapable, that you are ineffective. Today you told us that—very effectively—you recalled Olszewski's government. When will you equally effectively concern yourself with financial frauds, the banking system? When will there finally be a general privatization? I get the impression that you are effective only in those areas in which you want to be.

[Walesa] No, sir. Look, sir, how prettily you have drawn a conclusion again: first, indeed, as far as the prime minister's government is concerned I do have such possibilities [word indistinct] constitutional law. But in everything you have said I have no power. Look all of you, surely you have seen such a situation in which I am furious, after the 10th telephone conversation, after the 10th meeting. I say the nation demands an accounting of financial frauds and other matters. I (?record the prosecutor general on television and he does not know about this). Did you see that? Do you know (?how I let him off)? By what right?

Why? I quite simply had enough of this ineffectiveness, enough of the lack of solutions. The reply is you are right, but the state which we are creating can reply to illegal actions with the law. These laws have not been made. I cannot...[Walesa changes thought] I have to act in accord with the law. I, as a worker, get as angry as you do, because according to us the law has been broken, bent, and that was allowed. We cannot now. We must now implement all those lines. That is what everyone tells me, that the only reaction to illegal actions, to scandals, is to take legal steps and that is what all and sundry tell me. If I get mixed up too far then they say I have overstepped my competencies and I will have to stand in front of the Constitutional Tribunal. That is why again you are angry with me, but you do not force the deputies to finally change laws, to finally change the legislation, to speed up actions, which will give me or anyone the possibilities, so as to finally deal with the scandals, so as to finally get to work on the economy. I cannot. I do not have the powers. Every step is a coup against democracy. It is getting mixed up in other people's affairs. You do not see that and you think that there is no desire, that they are happily sitting. Some have been to me, let them tell you in what kind of conditions I work. Whoever has not been does not know. Let them come and then they will see and convince themselves.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number five.

[(Unidentified representative from Gdansk region] Mr. President, successful credibility and understanding is gained by dialogue and meeting. We have tried to arrange a meeting with you and your chancellery so as to discuss the education issues. It transpired that unfortunately you do not talk to representatives of the Solidarity National Section. You have spoken many times since November 1991 with OPZZ representives (?representing) the Union of Polish Teachers. My question is short. It is not a question of talking and discussing the [words indistinct] situation so that we could at least tell education employees that a meeting with the president will be held at some time.

[Walesa] How many of you are there? I am travelling. If I survive then I am going by plane on 14 June at 1730 [1530 GMT]. I will meet with you straight away. But again, sir, on the subject of culture, governing, the government, the execution [words indistinct], the president has not got any possibilities, not any.

What you are talking about, to ensure that you are satisfied, must be done by the government because it has executive powers. I only talk, offer cups of coffee, say that I give my support, that I will accompany you to the minister, and that is all. He will receive me, or not; if he is nice he will, but nothing else. Those are the regulations

we have. You say: What do I care about this? I elected a president. But the president of a country which is to be democratic cannot go too far beyond the bounds of democracy.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. President, I am sorry. The point is not for us to solve education problems...

[Walesa interrupts] Immediately. I will set a time for you when I can see you, on Sunday, at once...

[Unidentified speaker interrupts] Mr. President, we too are under certain obligations: to inform our members and democracy. We cannot agree here in this hall that (?Koszlaga) and three others will go because those to go will be representatives of the presidium, duly chosen. The point is that we should receive—from you or from your chancellery—a date and a time for a meeting at which we shall not want to destroy (?education) and restructure it, because in truth this is not the place or time for that and also what could be achieved in the ministry building? The point is to authenticate those people who are in Solidarity, who chose you as president of the republic, and that this president [as heard] sees education as a part of this country from which we should begin the restructuring and the rebuilding of a new future.

[Walesa] I have already told you that—immediately, if this is what you want. I have shown that I am ready at any time of night or day to talk and to act.

[Congress chairman] Ladies and gentlemen, we agreed at the beginning with the president that this meeting would last about an hour. We have already extended it by 30 minutes. We believe that the president will agree to answer three final questions. Please go ahead: microphone number seven.

[Eugeniusz Kazimierczak, representative from the Slasko- Dabrowski region] Mr. President, the last three consecutive governments did not introduce an effective economic program. You are being accused of breaking up the political scene and dividing society into various groups. Not one of the 100 parties has worked out an overall economic programme. I have a proposal for you—not an alternative subject but one of the first importance. Please answer us: Are you capable of calling up an open economic forum which would gather together the best economic specialists from all the party groupings, from the government, from the parliamentary floor groups, in order to elaborate alternative programs for economic development and present them—on an open stage—to society, on television, so that people from work enterprises might listen in to the debates of specialists, increase their economic awareness, and give their support for a specific economic program? This is a postulate from my enterprise, a postulate powered by simplicity and good sense. That is what they believe. If the governments to come and the parliament—and I believe this fourth government is also going to have difficulties with it because it is an extremely difficult matter—then we as society, and here as representatives, we can help to do it. [sentence as heard] But can you call such a forum?

[Walesa] I can call such a forum and it is already being organized, but we are waiting for a government.

[Congress chairman] Microphone number eight.

[Waldemar Bartosz, represenative from unidentified region] Mr. President, for a start you stated that your main goal in the last few days was, among other things, that this congress might take place. This would be touching if it were not for the fact that there had obviously been no time to attach your signature to the telegram which today's congress received in your name. You give us as a reason for various perturbations the fact that you had various inappropriate co-workers—in the chancellery, in other institutions—but did you yourself employ them or did someone wish them on you? If it was you who employed them then you must bear the consequences for them and for their work.

[Walesa] Sir, I chose people in accordance with my own system. When you are president you will chose them in accordance with your own system. Of course I will not like them just as you do not.

The telegram sent to you was signed by me. But as far as the earlier one is concerned—it was just for information. If it was rude then I am sorry. But surely that is not how it is. I was counting on talking to you here, that we would chat together. I did not treat it so formally.

At this difficult time, when I had to ride these horses, these horses had to be well-behaved, and you (?snort), kick! I could not ride with you! I had to have another one. Probably Tokarczuk then, in Bydgoszcz. Because you were still young, you were constantly [words indistinct] at Walesa. But then there was another situation, because you hindered me in my concept! I admit it! But you see, you asked whether I was here, I want to tell the truth. It is so. You got it on the nose, because you hindered my concept, which turned out to be victorious, and when there were normal conditions here, I never forgot Jasio and his slippers [after the "Bydgoszcz incident" in March 1981, a film was shown on television in which a beaten-up Jan Rulewski was seen, in a state of shock, crying that he had lost his shoes].

[Congress chairman] Thank you very much.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, Klementowski has been getting ready to have a go at me for half a day, and he can't speak. Give him the floor.

[Unidentified voice] This was to have been a man-to-man talk, and men talk equally well at 1000 when women and children go to sleep.

[Walesa) I see. [laughter] Ladies and gentlemen, we can of course talk all day, and you are right, you probably deserve this. But I too have obligations, I have not seen my wife for a little while. But again, that is not the point. Tomorrow I am [word indistinct]. Today I still have the

next meeting for which I am late. I am the president, Mr. Klementoski and friends. Ladies and gentlemen, do not be angry. I repeat once more, for the last time. When anything at all is not to your liking, in movements, in walks, in speech, [word indistinct] the president. I am at your every disposal, but before you acuse me, give me a defendant's speech. And then you can judge. I do not pre-judge. I am not a holy man, I am not good.

In the 1970s mostly, I committed errors, but I never betrayed either you or the ideals. I will answer every call of the nation. Let no one have any doubt. That is why, go carefully with judgments. Go carefully with conclusions. I will be here until the moment when you recall me. I will return with the greatest pleasure to beloved Gdansk and my real friends. I would wish that you make intelligent decisions here. I would wish that you help Poland, that you help the president, that you help parliament, help the government, help Poland! Not Walesa. Not a few ambitious and weak people in Poland. And don't lead her out onto the streets, don't lead her into suspicions. Everything must be arranged, but before you do anything, think about it! All the best. I apologize to you. I hope that I convinced at least a few, and those that I did not convince, too bad. I wasn't capable. I wish you fruitful debates. I apologize for everything. I apologize for my weakness in 1970. I apologize. I hope that you will save Poland, that I will not have to undertake frightening decisions. That I will never again have to, that I will always be able to listen to you. All the best. Thank you.

But next time I'm going to draw attention to the fact that everything that's going to be sent to Gdansk I'll sign myself.

[Bartosz] If you were talking about the people, you yourself said that they quite simply let you down, and that's why I'm asking.

[Walesa] None of them is working with me now. Whoever lets me down is also not going to work with the president, and that's how I also advise you to work at home.

[Unidentified representative] You said it was possible that the present government coalition, which has such an advantage in this parliament and in the commissions, would make a political decision, which would be contrary to the political picture of the government. [as heard]

[Walesa] I don't know, I don't vote, so I don't really understand what you want. Well, they made such a decision, they could have made another one on one subject or another. I didn't vote, and coalitions are different. Sometimes they agree with one group of people and sometimes with another. However, the proposition was accepted, that means it wasn't such a bad one.

[Congress chairman] Microphone No. 9.

[Unidentified representative from (?Legnica) Basin] Zbigniew [name indistinct], the (?Legnica) basin. There is this unfortunate town Legnica [passage indistinct due to faulty microphone]. I want to ask you whether you received a memorandum from the Legnica Town Council informing you that the number of Soviets is not getting less, but quite the opposite, their numbers are growing at an alarming rate. In Legnica, a [word indistinct] school has been opened for educating our occupiers. Do you know that for the Soviets, or as you prefer, or as you want, according to you, our friends, Moscovites, the town of Legnica is Liegnitz and Wroclaw is Breslau, whatever we, the inhabitants of those areas, call them. How long are we going to be [word indistinct] in our Polish towns?

[Walesa] I want to tell you that, outside of the program, I arranged with President Yeltsin all these points which you've been talking about, accurately, precisely. If these agreements are broken, then I, immediately after returning to Warsaw, call the general responsible, who receives from me, the generals gathered together at my residence in the Belveder Palace, receive an instruction—every unbeneficial, inconsistent, broken law is to be immediately reported. He did not inform me of the problems that constantly, consistently, if this is true. As the head of the armed forces, Corporal Lech Walesa.

[Congress chairman] To finish, colleague Jan Rulewski has a proposal.

[Representative Jan Rulewski] I take advantage of special rights, friend. You have hurt a number of people. Even some trade unionists. [words indistinct] (?Gwiazda has been here). We recently bade farewell to Romaszewski, with a sincere ovation. And I belong to those who, with your own lips, but perhaps this was an idea of Kiszczak's, in the presence of 20,000 people in Bydgoszcz, was called a traitor. No one tried to prove that this was not so. I am here, in this trade union. I'm not concerned that I'm badly viewed at Belveder Palace too. But in this country a lot of people have a lot of right on their side. I do not want to [word indistinct], I do not want to widen this quarrel that compromises our Solidarity family. Our enemies are pleased at this quarrel in the family and indeed altogether gain concrete economic benefits from it. I refer to your electoral promise, in which you said how it is, that the president will be the moderator of relations between parliament, the government, and society. In this context, I appeal, indeed oblige you as a man who put in his (?money) and his years of youth and [word indistinct], that he urgently call a roundtable conference of democratic forces for the specification of the solution of problems, and in extremis for the creation of a strong democratic government, that will not be [words drowned out in applause]. [applause]

[Walesa] [words drowned out in applause]

[Rulewski] In which there will be no place for the forces of the old political order, for the forces that their political capital... [applause]

[Congress chairman] Do not interrupt the delegate please.

[Rulewski] Where there will be no place for forces that built their political capital on the distribution of stolen tractors, and today are...

[Walesa, interrupting] Don't take the easy way so much. You will make a list together with me, and I will make sure that all of these come along, and we will do this. You agree? That's the first matter. That's arranged then, short and to the point! The second matter. Dear Jasio [diminutive form of Jan], I am rude then when, and also, I want to say to you so nastily, this was a specified situation, but when you became head of a region, you got your first congratulatory telegram from Lech.

Senate Accepts 27 Sep Presidential Election Date

AU1506200692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1445 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1992—With 73 votes for and two abstentions the Senate endorsed on Monday, June 15, the bill for setting the date of elections for the chamber of deputies and for the senate, as well as for Romania's presidency.

The elections will be held simultaneously on September 27, 1992. The date was agreed upon at the meeting held at the Presidency last week with representatives of Parliament, government, and leaders of political parties.

The document passed be the Senate will be sent to the Chamber of Deputies.

Parties Examine Chances in Elections

AU1506201892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0814 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1992—"I do not think that President Ion Iliescu has big chances" to be re-elected, states in an interview with the Bucharest daily LIBERTATEA the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], Sergiu Cunescu, who is running for the nomination as the only candidate of the Democratic Convention to presidency.

"The fight is open and it is an extraordinary exam for the Romanian people," opines the PSDR leader. "Let us see," he explains, "whether the Romanian people has regained in only two years the ABC of democracy and whether it realizes that it should elect a new man who should no longer be subjugated to old ideas and maybe even structures." [passage omitted]

One of Cunescu's contenders as the only presidential candidate of the Democratic Convention—an electoral coalition of 18 parties and associations—the leader of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], Nicolae Manolescu, assessed in turn in interviews with the independent press in Bucharest, that the incumbent president would not be re-elected in the first polling and could be defeated in the second one. [passage omitted]

An investigation of the independent poll center, published in the weekly entitled 22, of the Group for Social Dialogue, considered close to the PAC, emphasizes that Ion Iliescu's popularity was less dented as compared to Petre Roman's, following the FSN split, although the latter was in fact connected to the struggle for power.

It is not known for the time being when the presidential polling will take place. After Parliament has recently voted against holding elections on July 26, most of the party leaders accepted the day of September 27, proposed by Premier Theodor Stolojan in a meeting called at Cotroceni by President Iliescu. But the final decision is still to be taken by the parliament elected on May 20, 1990.

A number of party leaders advocated at that meeting a delay by one or two months in the presidential polling as to the parliamentary elections, sustaining, among other things that—if they were held concomitantly—the parties that back one candidate for presidency could get more votes in an inequitable way, a reasoning that starts from the still high popularity of the incumbent president.

As far as he is concerned, Ion Iliescu, who had shunned a straight answer when asked whether he would run for a constitutional term of four years, has informally confirmed his intention to stay in office, during a recent visit to Salaj county (North-Western part of the country). Numerous Bucharest publications associated that gesture with the visit to Romania by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, whose message was allegedly interpreted at Cotroceni like this: The U.S. would now be interested in fair elections only, and not in their returns as well, as it happened in 1990.

"I hope we the Democratic Convention will get a relative majority, which will enable us to make up a coalition government apt to save the country," states in the daily LIBERTATEA the president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], Corneliu Coposu, who is also acting chairman of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Convention.

The PNTCD leader opines that no grouping shall get an absolute majority at general elections set on September 27.

The Democratic Convention got 25 percent of votes at the 1992 February local elections, especially in large towns like Bucharest, Timisoara, Constanta, Brasov, and Sibiu. Shortly afterwards the National Liberal Party [PNL], led by Radu Campeanu withdrew from the Democratic Convention, preferring to fight alone at parliamentary elections.

PNTCD leader Corneliu Coposu announced that during their latest meeting a joint program was completed by a joint committee—made up of representatives of all component parties the coalition—concerning the Democratic Convention's participation in the election campaign.

The PNTCD leader views this program as "incomparably superior to the government's. It will enable "an effortless and painless" transition to a market economy, despite the positions it must start from, which were compromised not only by the communist economic dictatorship over the past 45 years, but also by the inability of the Government over the last two years to properly break the deadlock the country is passing through. [passage omitted]

PNL's Campeanu Comments on Election Issues

AU1206114592 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5 Jun 92 pp 1, 4

[Part one of interview with Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, by Florin Radulescu-Botica—date an place not given: "It Is Easy Now To Return to Romania and Holler (Like in Paris) That There Is No Democracy!"]

[Excerpts] [Botica] Esteemed Mr. Radu Campeanu, let us begin with a hot issue. Regardless of the recent positive evolution of the conflict that has bloodied the Dniester River, Bessarabia will remain a source of dramatic tensions for Romania, which can be rekindled at any time. Do you agree that there are such intentions and that we are given all chances to fall into a trap?

[Campeanu] Intentions? One might talk of intentions if the goal were to exclude the Dniester region as a likely subject of negotiation. But I am not very convinced of that. Why? Because if things were like that, the Ukrainians should have been at the source of the disturbances in the Dniester region. However, according to information available to me, to us, it is not the Ukrainians who triggered off these incidents, but the Russians. Then, I am obliged to think that we are faced here with much larger interests, which go far beyond our geopolitical zone. Are we dealing here with a provocation or a trap, as you said? I believe that the situation is even more serious. Maybe, we are being confronted with a rebirth attempt on the part of Russian imperialism. We shall see how things evolve. Regardless of the hypotheses and motivation of the dramatic events that are taking place over there, the Romanian Government will have to immediately enter—something which it has already done, to its credit—into constant diplomatic contact with the powers in the region, that is Russia, Ukraine, and the Republic of Moldova. This is absolutely necessary, but not enough. We will have to undertake strenuous efforts at the Western chancellories and other representative international institutions, beginning with the United Nations, to present and explain not only the current situation, but also the truth of our historical ties with Bessarabia.

[Botica] Do you fear that Romania might be dragged into an armed conflict?

[Campeanu] Right now, I do not see this possibility. Anyhow, we should avoid such an alternative, with its inherent huge risks and tragic consequences, by using all political and diplomatic means available to us.

[Botica] Would you like to comment—although we know you do not like such questions—on the situation resulting from the split in the National Salvation Front [FSN] and the entrance of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] into our political life?

[Campeanu] [passage omitted] This "split" within the FSN was to be expected, given the fact that since its birth the Front was a heterogeneous human conglomerate, an amalgamation of political trends, opinions, and interests. Therefore, it was only natural for differences of opinion to emerge. This happened in all countries that suffered under a communist dictatorship: The various fronts, alliances, and initial forums split up and turned into parties. [passage omitted]

[Botica] We are witnessing certain particular evolutions right now. The FDSN already has the majority in the Senate and it may acquire it in the Assembly of Deputies as well. What do you think about this impressive "mutation?"

[Campeanu] [passage omitted] I believe—of course, this is my personal opinion—that this is a reaction to the methods used by the FSN. It is a late, but virulent reaction, if we consider the number of those who changed sides and turned against Mr. Petre Roman's dictatorship, against his lack of respect for the rules of political deontology and morality itself. [passage omitted]

[Botica] I would like to ask you about the value of our political parties.

[Campeanu] I believe we have only 3 authentic parties. First of all, the PNL. I must start with it, because it is a true party, meaning that it has a clear ideology, a coherent program, and people and organizations all over the country. Then comes the PNTCD, which also has organizations throughout the country. I do not know whether it also has an exact concept—personally, I do not quite understand the meaning of the peasant doctrine in association with Christianity and democracy; maybe they will eventually clarify their positions. Third, I will mention the FSN, our adversary, which has undoubtedly been and may still be a very strong party. Aside from these three political parties, the other formations cannot meet the criteria that define a party. Some have a doctrine, but are nonexistent in the field; others make much noise, since they have access to the mass media, but operate only in several large cities; others are simply illusory, "family" parties or totally insignificant ones that appear today, only to disappear by tomorrow or the day after. [passage omitted]

[Botica] Apropos the PNL's exit from the Democratic Convention [CD]. Everybody is familiar with the explanations you gave in this connection, namely the fact that the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] has failed to take a proper stand vis-a-vis certain irredentist statements made by various officials from Hungary. We confess that this was the last drop. However, how do you explain your pretty long cooperation with the UDMR, at a time when accusations against Romania were in abundance?

[Campeanu] I do not think that we can talk about accusations in this context. There were certain statements, which we considered as dangerous to Romania's interests. These statements, which continued for some time, culminated with the statement made by Hungary's national defense minister on 14 February 19992. The PNL had long since asked the UDMR to declare its attitude, which it failed to do. We have nothing against the UDMR; we are not anti- Hungarian and we respect the rights of minorities and contribute to guaranteeing these rights. However, as a national party, we cannot approve of such statements. When you go out before the Romanian electorate, you must be honest, without ambiguities.

[Botica] Forgive me, but I referred to a certain cooperation with the UDMR, particularly in Ardeal...

[Campeanu] In Transylvania, the UDMR ran on its own lists. We did the same. However, at the presidential elections, some 40 percent of the Hungarians voted for me, 30 percent for Mr. Ion Iliescu, and some 5-6 percent for Mr. Ion Ratiu. Why? Because, generally speaking, the Hungarians have a liberal ideology. As a matter of fact, one of the important groups within the UDMR endorses the liberal doctrine. Therefore, a Hungarian would find it natural to vote for the PNL, since he can be sure that the PNL as a party will guarantee all rights, in a civilized manner and at a European level. Therefore, I consider such a "cooperation," as you call it, absolutely natural.

Moldovan President Accused of Yielding to Yeltsin

AU1406153892 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 4 Jun 92 p 1

[Ilie Paunescu article: "Snegur Yields to Yeltsin"]

[Text] The communique issued on 2 June following the discussions in Moscow between Moldovan and Russian Ministers of Foreign Affairs Tiu and Kozyrev tries to hide through ambiguity the most alarming information: "The sides agreed to initiate, as soon as possible, negotiations regarding the whole complex of bilateral relations."

On the eve of the talks, both President Snegur and Mr. Muravschi, the prime minister from Chisinau, made vociferous statements protesting Mr. Yeltsin's desire to push Romania and Ukraine aside. From the very beginning, the Russian project betrayed the Kremlin's imperialist intentions, and the leadership of the so-called Republic of Moldova had every reason to denounce them. Moscow desires a new model of the USSR by installing (in the capitals of the CIS states) regimes subservient to it, Mr. Snegur stated on television to the whole public.

One could have expected that, being in the Kremlin for negotiations with his Russian counterpart, the foreign minister from Chisinau only had to accept the four-way formula, namely seeking a solution to the crisis in the Dniester region by the representatives of all capitals concerned—Chisinau, Bucharest, Kiev, and Moscow. Undoubtedly, the communique of 2 June proclaims the faithfulness of the two ministers to this formula; however, the real sense of this communique consists of accepting bilateral negotiations "on economic, political, and military issues, and on humanitarian questions of common interest."

If this decision is put into practice, Mr. Snegur will reap—sooner than all of us expected—the fruits of the policy of ignoring supreme national interests promoted by himself and Mr. Iliescu. Chisinau, all by itself in an unequal confrontation with Moscow, would lose everything it won in August 1991 when it proclaimed its independence.

We hope that, at least at the eleventh hour, the two very guilty ones—Mircea Snegur and Ion Iliescu—will agree to appeal to the only force that can really support them: the right of Romanians to the reunification of their country.

"Bessarabia has been Romanian soil and is Romanian soil," Iuliu Maniu [founder of National Peasant Party] said, defying Stalin at [Marshal] Antonescu's [Romania's leader during World War II] trial. This fundamental truth cannot be forgotten by any Romanian in the confrontation with the current follower of the Georgian [Stalin] and former "democrat" Boris Yeltsin.

The present and future of our nation are again put to the test these days. It is necessary for the decisionmakers in Bucharest and Chisinau to find the energy and talent they need to live up to the mission entrusted to them.

Sarajevo Radio Announces New Government Members

AU1406181792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 June 92

[Text] As the BH PRESS agency reports, the members of the new Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are now known.

Jure Pelivan is the president of the government. Hakija Turajlic is vice president for economy, Miodrag Simovic vice president for internal politics, and Zlatko Lagumdzija vice president for social activities.

As we have learned, the following people are in charge of the ministries in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina:

Jerko Doko, minister of national defense;

Haris Siljadzic, minister of foreign affairs;

Ranko Nikolic, minister of justice and administration;

Zarko Primorac, minister of finance;

Rusmir Mahmut Cehajic, minister of energy and industry;

Hasan Muratovic, minister of forestry and [word indistinct]

industry;

Tomislav Krsticevic, minister of traffic;

Ugljesa Uzelac, minister of reconstruction;

Mumid Jahic, minister of town planning, building, and protection

of the environment;

Mustafa Beganovic, minister of health;

Nikola Kovac, minister of education, science, and culture;

Martina Raguz, minister of labor and social politics;

Milenko Brkic, minister of religion;

BH PRESS reports that the names of the candidates for minister of internal affairs, minister of supply and enterprise, and minister of agriculture, food industry, and water economy are still not known.

New Interior Minister Named; Sarajevo Peaceful

LD1606083692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Slavko Rako report from Sarajevo]

[Text] The population of Sarajevo has just lived through one of the most peaceful nights since the start of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This conclusion was made on the basis of my personal experience and of the first report by the Sarajevo security services center. Reports supplied by police stations from four of the city's municipalities follow: Stari Grad: several shells on Vasin Han, Hrid, and in the vicinity of the police station; Centar: quiet; Novo Sarajevo: several shells with sporadic provocations by the aggressor from infantry weapons on the territory of Grbavica; and Novi Grad: peaceful with occasional provocations.

It was announced overnight that the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has reached an agreement on filling the post of minister in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The outgoing minister, Alija Delimustafic, is being replaced by his assistant, Jusuf Pusina [both of Muslim nationality]. Alija Delimustafic has been appointed minister of supply in the new government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Presidency Denies Signing Agreement With Serbs

AU1506200292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 June 92

[Text] No document was signed with the aggressor at the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] building. Only one statement was signed yesterday by which the Headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense agreed it would observe the cease-fire.

This was stated by Mile Akmadzic, general secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, at today's news conference in the International Press Center. He therefore rejected a TANJUG news item stating that the legal authorities organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the aggressor side reached a cease-fire agreement yesterday in the presence of the UNPROFOR representatives. Akmadzic also said that UNPROFOR will supervise both the artillery and the cease-fire, and stressed that wherever possible and particularly at the airport, the expert supervision of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will also be included.

Belgrade Radio: Cease-Fire 'Generally' Observed

AU1506150492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 June 92

[Rasto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] The cease-fire that took effect at 0600 today is generally holding in Sarajevo. We say generally as the shooting has not stopped completely. Last night the Muslim forces attacked the (?Kasedomska) Street street area. The battles lasted until the morning hours and the Serbian army resistance was successful. There were also attacks in the Medzarici area. The Muslim forces were attacking the Serbian army positions with sniper and artillery fire. Snipers were also shooting at civilians.

Green Berets were also directing artillery fire at Vrace. They bombarded the Serbian positions at Vrace and

Grbavica with 82 mm and 120 mm mortars continuously last night. The Muslim forces were shooting at Dobrinja and the airport settlement until approximately 1300.

The talks on lifting the Sarajevo airport blockade continue today. This morning the UN Protection Force members also visited the airport to become familiar with the details needed for the airport's reopening.

The statement by Hasan Efendic, former commander and now adviser to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense, that he signed no cease-fire yesterday could delay the peace in Sarajevo as well as the opening of the airport. It seems that the wishes of the Muslims for a war up to the extermination point have not died out completely.

According to information from the Muslim Security Services Center, there were also battles at Hrasno Brdo today. The Serbian sources claim that the Muslim forces here attempted a new infantry breakthrough toward Odzanska Street in Vrace.

All in all, this day in Sarajevo was more peaceful that the previous one, but the shooting that nevertheless continues does not create much hope for a cease-fire. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo Radio: Cease-Fire Violations Increase

AU1506190692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 June 92

[Mladen Bosnjak report from the Sarajevo Security Services Center]

[Excerpt] The Sarajevo cease-fire has claimed more but considerably fewer victims and destruction, the cease-fire that was more intensively violated as the day went by.

This particularly refers to the Novi Grad and Novo Sarajevo communes. At Stup, which is partially on the territory of [word indistinct] commune, two persons died and two were wounded by mortar shells fired from the direction of the airport. The tanks and combat vehicles that were pounding the buildings of Dobrinja until some three to four hours ago were then aimed at the settlements of Butmir and Kotorac. Two houses were set on fire in the attack. Currently there is no report on possible casualties. Satnica also was not spared. Bomb fragments wounded two persons there. Loud explosions were heard in Vojnicko Polje, Hrasno Brdo, Pero Kosovic Square, which is within Novo Sarajevo, and in the late afternoon hours more intensively in Sirokaca and Stari Grad. [passage omitted]

Delegates Insist on Wider Free Zone Around Airport

AU1506195392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 June 92

[Text] Another round of talks concerning the operation aimed at lifting the blockade on the Sarajevo airport and putting it under the control of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution has ended today.

UNPROFOR representatives and a delegation led by Stjepan Siber, which was appointed by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense, discussed deployment of artillery in (?the southern part of the airport).

The purpose of lifting the blockade is not merely to allow larger distribution of humanitarian aid. It must also be ensured that supplies reach those they are intended for. If the artillery-free zone measures less that 20 km in radius, the enemy could continue to threaten Sarajevo Airport operations from its strongholds in the hills. The aggressor agreed that the airport should be put under UNPROFOR control but demanded that the artillery-free zone be only 5 km in radius. The representatives of the legal Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities demand a 20 km zone, as this is the only way that they can guarantee the safety of the airport. Previous experience clearly suggests that the aggressor will not observe any cease-fire, not even the one that it had unilaterally proclaimed.

Commentator Sees Butrus Ghali's Position as Biased

AU1506073292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 June 92

[Sasa Vugdalic commentary]

[Text] Sarajevo is hungry and thirsty, and it is bleeding. If nobody else, UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali can bring a smile to the faces of the residents of the nearly demolished town. Butrus Ghali blamed the Croatian and Muslim units, which have seized arms from the former barracks of the former Yugoslav Peoples' Army and are now defending what is left of the town with these arms, for the latest battles in Sarajevo.

Butrus Ghali added yet another [word indistinct] to a string of actions that showed a lack of understanding of the situation on this territory. By this he proved that he is not thinking of taking the (?initiative) to resolve the crisis and save human lives, but will continue to stay behind the events and will decide to undertake concrete measures only once he is pushed against the wall in his own house. Ghali, as we recall, was not enchanted by the recognition of the newly emerged states on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Secessionism, as a description of the events, was closer to him than the right to self-determination, which is contained in the UN Founding Charter. For a long time he has advocated that Europe resolve the Yugoslav crisis. The UN encountered the crisis only when the former SFRY Presidency and the Serbs themselves brought it to the Glass Palace, hoping that they would receive more understanding in New York than they did in the imperialists anti- orthodox Europe.

From the very beginning he decided in favor of a stand of [word indistinct] crisis, although it was evident that this stand is unbearable and is only adding to the agony.

His report, which received sharp criticism in the UN Security Council, was similar in style and was sufficient for the Belgrade hotheads to promote false optimism, saying that at least somebody in this world understands Serbia and believes in its innocence. It is obvious that the report was written after it was already known that the new Yugoslavia would not be able to avoid the UN sanctions. The report sounded more like Butrus Ghali's apology to Belgrade than a serious analysis of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the sense that there was nothing more that could be done.

The story about the deployment of blue helmets along combat lines continues in Sarajevo. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] will take over the airport only when all sides have secured the end of the fighting. This is blatantly cynical, as the UN is demanding that Sarajevo residents stop defending the town after two months' of attempts by the Serbian troops to conquer it and now that it seems that the Sarajevo defense finally managed to slightly reduce the pressure of encirclement a few days ago. Ghali forgets that the UNPROFOR units could arrive in the Croatian crisis regions only after the Croatian defense for the first time pushed the enemy along almost the entire length of the front. A similar thing will happen at Butmir airport. They will be able to enter the airport once it is in the hands of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense and no sooner, as this would not at all suit the state of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Pale.

Press Reports Croat-Muslim Forces Using Nerve Gas

LD1406141892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1259 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 14 (TANJUG)—Belgrade papers report on Sunday [15 June] that Croat-Moslem forces on Saturday used poison gas on the Derventa battlefront in northern Bosnia.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI quotes a statement released by the information service of the 1st Krajina Corps as saying that nerve gas was used in the areas of the villages of Velika Socanica and Mala Socanica.

The statement says that another attempt by Croat-Moslem forces, backed by regular Croatian troops, to penetrate the defences of the Army of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and encircle the Derventa Barracks, did not succeed.

The corps also says that it has thwarted attempts to infiltrate groups of Croat-Moslem saboteurs and terrorists into the rear of the Serb Army, adding that 12 saboteurs have been liquidated in the Agici-Kaurska Obala-Tomasovo Brdo area.

Government Denies Existence of Concentration Camps

LD1306095492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2330 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 12 (TANJUG)—No concentration camps for Moslems exist in the territory of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and claims by Muhamed Cengic, vice-premier of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to that effect are "a disgusting lie," says in its denial the government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as transmitted by the SRNA, the news agency of Bosnia-Hercegovina's local Serbs. The said claims were made by Vice-Premier Cengic in his interview with the GRAZ KLEINE ZEITUNG, an Austrian newspaper.

Cengic has been "for a time" staying over two months now in Turkey. Being unofficially learned in Sarajevo, the chief city of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is that he is out of favour with Bosnia- Hercegovina's leadership loyal to President Alija Izetbegovic on which legally elected Serbs are missing.

Set out in Cengic's interview were "terrible accusations and lies," the denial has it, and the KLEINE ZEITUNG journalists are invited to come to the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina territory to see the facts for themselves and personally refute such lies.

At the same time, the government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina sent out an appeal to tv and newspaper houses world-wide to send their journalists in to "photograph horrible facts about concentration camps for Serbs in Sarajevo and elsewhere."

Five days ahead of Vice-Premier Cengic's controversial interview, the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Government warned international leader that prisons in Sarajevo were turned into concentration camps for local Serbs, that two such camps were opened near the town of Konjic (central Bosnia-Hercegovina) and that in Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory controlled by the joint Moslem-Croatian forces several camps were opened in which Serb hostages, mainly women, children and old people, are kept for weeks.

In the appeal sent out to international forums at that time it was adduced that local Serbs had been massacred in the town of Kupres, Livno Field, the village of Sijekovac and Sarajevo's part of Pofalic. And that some 4,000 Serbs had been held as captives in the town of Novi Grad near Orasje for a month and another 1,000 in the town of Tomislavgrad, western Hercegovina.

Still uncertain is the fate of another 3,500 Serbs held captive at a stadium in the place of Odzak, near the town of Bosanski Samac, (in the northeast of Bosnia-Hercegovina) and in a tunnel near the village of Bradina, not far from Sarajevo, for all that from the International Red Cross Society help was asked for having them set free.

Tudjman, Izetbegovic Issue Joint Statement

LD1506151192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, have expressed their wish for a meeting to discuss current problems as well as future relations between the two sovereign and independent states. Mutual regret has been expressed that, in the current situation when brutal aggression is being waged against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, President Izetbegovic is unable to leave Sarajevo. Expressing the hope that they will soon be able to meet, the two presidents decided to make the following joint statement:

1. Taking into consideration the fact that the Republic of Croatia has recognized the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has recognized the Republic of Croatia, both presidents declare that steps should immediately be taken to establish diplomatic relations at the embassy level.

2. The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina expresses its gratitude to the Republic of Croatia for the humanitarian aid and the reception and accomodation given to a large number of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina who have been forced to leave their centuries-old hearths as a result of brutal and barbaric attacks by chetniks and military forces from Serbia and Montenegro.

3. The Republic of Croatia supports Bosnia-Hercegovina's efforts for preserving its independence and repulsing the aggression, and is giving and will continue to give aid to this end. The Republic of Croatia also supports the efforts of the legal government and the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to consolidate the defense of the republic by uniting all aspects and components of armed resistance into unified military forces under the command of the Presidency.

4. Both presidents express full concord that following the end of the war a political solution should be sought, based on the principle of equality of all constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

5. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, supports the efforts of the international community for putting an end to the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. He also supports the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina's call to the international community for aid and for effective action for preventing further aggression and ending military operations.

6. Both presidents agree that diplomatic and consular missions of both states should mutually give all necessary help and services to the citizens of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in cases when the representative offices of these countries cannot give this help. Help given in this way will be recognized as valid in both states.

UNPROFOR Chairman Complains of 'Terror'

LD1506183292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Letter to UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander General Satish Nambiar from Milan Ramljak, chairman of the State Commission for UNPROFOR of the Croatian Government—read by announcer]

[Text] Honored General Nambiar,

Even after several mutual talks and scores of letters which I have sent to you in connection with the plunder, expulsions, and murder of the non-Serbian population in areas under UN protection, the Croatian population is exposed to undiminished terror waged by occupation and so-called local authorities. We are receiving reports about fresh victims daily. Must we wait until the last Croat is exterminated in these areas for efficient measures to be undertaken against criminals?

I am sending to you, as a supplement, information about the latest murders in the Benkovac municipality and a list of 64 expelled people, together with a letter from the secretary of the Bureau for Displaced People and Refugees dated 14 June 1992, and letters from the administrator of the Croatian Government for the Benkovac municipality dated 13 and 14 June.

I draw your attention to the fact that Milan Bulic, a one-armed invalid, was killed in his vineyard, where he was impaled after being beaten up. We still do not have details of the murder of Josa Marinovic from Bruska and the crime in the village of Rodaljice, where four Croat civilians were killed.

The bitter experience of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Sector E appears to have been forgotten. In Sector S an amicable attitude toward the so-called local authorities is still in evidence while the horrible crime of genocide is being calmly observed. Obviously, there is no longer any excuse for tactical maneuvering. Effective measures should be taken straight away.

Hence, I demand that you launch a thorough inquiry into this crime and establish the reasons behind the lack of efficiency displayed by your units and services, and inform the UN secretary general and the Security Council about this issue.

If such crimes continue, we will no longer be able to placidly tolerate the suffering of the Croatian and other non-Serbian population in Croatia in the UN-protected areas.

Chetniks Shell Vincovci From UN-Observed Areas

LD1506231292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Marija Petrinovic report from Vincovci]

[Text] Following a few weeks of fragile piece, strong explosions are suddenly rocking Vinkovci. According to first information from the command of the Vukovar-Vinkovci First Operational Group of the Croatian Army and the Osijek information center, the suburb of Mala Bosna was fired on by several hand- launched missiles, mortars and antiaircraft batteries from the Chetnik stronghold in Mirkovci about 2100.

Since 2340, artillery fire has been reverberating throughout the town, and a general alert was sounded twice at 2345 and a few minutes after midnight due to the strength of attacks. The Serb aggressor's army and Chetnik units are firing from the direction of (Jankovacka Dubrava), Karadzicevo, and Ostrovo. Tank and mortar shells are falling on the town center and all suburbs. There is no information about any casualties at the moment.

We have learned from the command of the Vukovar-Vinkovci Operational Group of the Croatian Army that a detailed investigation into the attack will be undertaken, because Chetniks are attacking from areas under the UN protection forces.

As this report goes out, a few minutes after midnight, destructive explosions are still reverberating throughout the town.

Social Democratic Union Aims To Unite Left

AU1606092692 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 92 p 5A

[Gordana Grgas report: "What are Social Democratic Union Aims?"]

[Text] Zagreb—Who, and of what political inclination, are the organizers of the founding assembly of the Social Democratic Union [SDU], which had been prepared to take place in Zagreb at the beginning of May, but was canceled "owing to citizens' protest." A group of Zagreb citizens showed their disgust at them by calling them Chetniks, citing their links with the Party of Yugoslavs and the Movement for Yugoslavia, and expecting, without any enthusiasm, the appearance of the former Yugoslav premier, Ante Markovic. Croatian opposition parties either have nothing good to say about the SDU (alliance of the League of Social Democrats and the Reformist Party of Croatia), or simply ignore it.

After the first aborted attempt (which was commented on by HELSINKI WATCH), the SDU was finally founded in Zagreb (there was no need to go to Slovenia for that, as the founders had naughtily threatened), and it is now climbing the ladder of public identification—the leader is Professor Dr. Branko Horvat, who once was a very popular proposer of ways of extrication from the Yugoslav crisis (all in one year!). Ante Markovic, former president of the Federal Executive Council, was not present, although, according to the initiators of the whole idea, he was the economic adviser of the SDU. Besides, engineer Markovic "does not spend a lot of time in Zagreb, just the weekends. During the week he is in Graz, where he is starting a private bank."

If others do not praise you, you have to do it yourself—is the conclusion after hearing what Dr. Horvat has to say about the program and aims of the SDU, as written in the declaration. They see themselves as the perpetuators of "the best tradition of Croatian social democracy and anti fascism," and they will "strive to prevent Croatia becoming an isolated Balkan province." What role do they see for themselves in Croatia, and what do they think about other parties?

"We have a reputation in Europe as a primitive tribalist country to be avoided. The behavior of other parties shows that this can only be remedied by a united and strong democratic left—which does not exist at present." The SDU would take on itself the role of unifier. They know how to solve the economic crisis, how to regain lost territories in a peaceful way, how to settle ethnic conflicts, and live in a civilized way—all that with a great dose of criticism aimed at the ruling party.

Before the war (before it "put its activities on ice, and began peace-making work"), The League of Social Democrats had about 700 members, with the strongest affiliations in Glina, Petrinja, Vrginmost, and Daruvar, while the reformists had 25,000 members, mostly in Rijeka. They say that their membership structure was multi-ethnic.

Now, they say, they have "several thousand members", but are hoping for a great "increase" since, after the elections, "the space occupied by the original democratic left has become vacant." Besides, according to them, Croatia needs a party (that would be them, of course) that invites trust, regardless of ethnic belonging—a party "that is not inclined towards chauvinism, and one that does not build state borders on ethnic ones."

Accusations that they are pro-Yugoslav and pro-Chetnik, they simply call lies. The remarks that, before the war started, and when it started, the parties uniting did not condemn the aggressor are answered with claims to the contrary. Still, the Croatian public opinion is that they could have done more for Croatia, had they wanted to, since (as they themselves point out) they had a considerable political influence in parts of Croatia that are now occupied.

Many remember the photograph of the then federal premier, Ante Markovic, visiting Borovo Selo. Was it because of that, or simply because of intolerance, that there was almost a physical clash last year in Zagreb between the reformists and the militant members of the Croatian Democratic Community?

The founders of the SDU describe their previous activities in the League of Social Democrats and the Reformist Party as an opposition to the policies of war, and promotion of dialogue between the conflicting sides. Dragutin Palasek from the SDU head committee says

that it is clear that Croatia is being subjected to aggression, and that the so-called Yugoslav People's Army, with Serb majority in it, is destroying everything it comes across in a fascistic way, but "this could have perhaps been avoided through political means. Croatia could have conducted wiser policies." Dr. Lino Veljak, also from the head committee, claims that it was thanks to them that Croatia was internationally recognized (that is, by the way, what all Croatian parties say for themselves), because it was "from their circle that the appeal came for international de-legitimizing of Yugoslavia, the deployment of the UN forces...."

Voter Registration Seen Making Election Unfair

AU1606094992 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 92 p 28-29

[Zoran Daskalovic commentary: "Can Elections Be Legal"]

[Text] Now that Prime Minister Franjo Greguric has announced that Croatia's elections will be held in July, it depends mostly on the Croatian police force whether they will be regular and legal. This appears absurd, even disagreeable.

The most frequent arguments against hasty elections are the continuing war, and the occupation of one-quarter of Croatian territory, with 15 percent of the total population, which means as many voters, who now have the status of exiles and refugees.... According to the elections law, the law on the census of voters, and the law on Croatian citizenship, only those registered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs as Croatian citizens will be able to vote in the elections in July. Only they, if they are of age, of course, will be listed in the electoral roll. Whether the elections will be legal and democratic will greatly depend on what the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and its police authorities, will do in the procedure of establishing Croatian citizenship.

Crucial Voters

Many of those who have the legal right to Croatian citizenship will have to be only observers and cheerleaders in the coming elections, because of the immense work, and the procedure involved, but also because of possible election "foul play."

It is already known that "about 25 percent of the population of the Republic of Croatia has not been officially entered into the citizens' register." If they do want to vote then they will have to submit an application for citizenship, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs has already received 300,000 applications.

It depends on the efficiency of the police whether all these will find themselves on the electoral roll. The law enables Croats who are not residents of the Republic of Croatia to become Croat citizens, so they, too, can vote in the elections for president of the republic and 60 parliamentary representatives, which are elected on the principle of proportional representation.

When one adds up the 25 percent of the unregistered Croats, Croatian emigrants, and the Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and other former Yugoslav republics, one gets a potential million-voting body that could have a crucial influence on the outcome of the election.

It is obvious that not all of them will become Croat citizens in just over a month, because that is administratively impossible. Since they are thus denied their voting rights, the question is whether the elections can be considered legal.

Political parties can make it possible for their members and voters to submit their applications in the simplest of ways, and therefore be entered in the citizen's register. That would give these parties an advantage over their rivals even before the elections. The procedure is quite simple: emigrants and their children, that is, all members of the Croatian nation who are not resident in the Republic of Croatia, may acquire Croatian citizenship if they can speak Croatian and know the Latin alphabet; if their behavior clearly indicates that they respect the legal order and customs of the Republic of Croatia; if they accept Croatian culture, and if they state in writing that they regard themselves Croatian citizens. These statements can be presented to the authorized bodies in Croatia, and diplomatic and consular missions abroad.

It is easily predictable that the political parties that have their organizations and affiliations in that part of the voting body will, during the next month, encourage their members and sympathizers to seek registration, and help them with the applications, so that, by the elections, they will be entered in the electoral roll in Zagreb.

At the moment, the ruling Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] is best equipped to organize that, not only in Croatia, but in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Vojvodina as well. There is no need to point out that the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina, which are closely linked to the Zagreb headquarters, are the most influential parties among the respective local Croatian communities. The HDZ can thus get thousands of votes.

The HDZ, and Franjo Tudjman as presidential candidate, have no reason to wait with the elections, since they have the largest material and financial potential, wide organizational coverage, and the best position in the media, and in management in general, which it acquired through widespread nationalization. The biggest problem facing the HDZ is how to conduct all organizational preparations at such short notice, without being inundated with administrative work that they might be unable to complete, and might thus cause chaos in the elections.

What Sale Says

Petar Sale, minister of justice and management, says that the voting lists will be conducted in accordance with the law, and that all the preparations have been completed to register all Croatian citizens eligible to vote.

This week, the ministry will submit to President Tudjman a report on the current stat of work, with proposed dynamics of activities that would facilitate the smooth conduct of the elections procedure. Sale confirmed that it was still unknown how many voters would be registered in the new voting lists, as that would depend on the number of those registered as Croatian citizens. The procedure for the acquisition of Croatian citizenship will be accelerated, and all those eligible to vote will be automatically registered in the lists. This applies to the members of the Croatian nation, regardless of their place of residence. Non-Croats, who have the status of foreigners—since Croatia's independence—and who are entitled to Croatian citizenship by meeting the legal conditions, will have to go through the standard procedure, which can take up to several months. Most of them will not have the right to vote in these elections.

The parliament is expected to adopt the law on election units by the end of the week, and so the last administrative obstacles will be removed. As for the number of voters, and other concrete data, Sale said that nobody could give more specific information at the moment. He agreed that there were some doubts, but he still claimed that all Croats who so wanted would acquire Croatian citizenship and be entered into the voting lists.

They would be enabled to vote in their country of residence, provided the local law allowed it. If not, then they would have to vote in Croatia if they wanted to use their voting right. Right after the last elections, during one of the first sessions of the Main Committee of the HDZ, a debate had been initiated on the conducting of the next elections. At the time, Franjo Tudjman had suggested, and the Main Committee accepted, that the mood of the voting body, and other relevant conditions, be carefully monitored and analyzed, so that elections could be called at the most favorable moment for the HDZ. The war has changed many things in Croatia, and delayed the elections, but the HDZ leadership has still adhered to its initial decision. The HDZ will probably not hesitate to make moves that skirt the border on correctness and election legality. It can do so from the position of ruling party that holds the reins of power firmly in its hands. The possible influence on the size and structure of the voting body is an extraordinary election weapon, which it will not resist using for its own advancement in the elections, particularly as, on paper, everything can convincingly be shown as clean and legal. In reality, however, the long procedure for the acquisition of Croatian citizenship will leave non-Croats without the voting rights they used to enjoy until recently—just as they had the right to vote in the referendum for an independent and sovereign Croatia. The HDZ might suffer from a boomerang effect if it does not make it administratively possible for all Croats who submit their applications to acquire Croatian citizenship. If they do not acquire Croatian citizenship, they will not have the right to vote, which would truly make the elections completely illegal.

It is up to President Tudjman and the government to decide, before calling the elections, whether the administration, particularly the Ministry of Internal Affairs, can cope with this in such a short time. Also, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia should, I suppose, have a say in the matter, as the protector of the constitutionality and legality of elections.

Vis Citizens To Celebrate JNA Ships' Departure

AU1106082092 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 92 p 3

[Report by R. Zaja: "People of Vis Preparing for Celebrations"]

[Text] Vis, 30 May—Since this morning the hand-over has been taking place of the remaining "Yugoslav army" [JNA] facilities, and the civil authorities have already taken over the hills Hum and Vela Glava, inlets Stonac and Ceska Vila, and the JNA's center. During this afternoon, the weaponry of the Vis territorial defense will be handed over to its proper owners—the people of Vis. This weaponry—apparently some hundred guns and machine-guns, and several anti-aircraft artillery pieces—will be handed over in the central Vis barracks, Samogor, after which the JNA is supposed to pull out from them, too.

Apart from the handing over of all JNA facilities, the movement of enemy ships in and around the Vis inlet is also apparent. There are only six JNA vessels left—among them the "Destroyer 3," and the notorious "Split." This morning, in Sveti Jurja the port of Vis, two transport ships docked, probably for the last time—"DBM 241" ("Krk"), and "PO 9" ("Ugor")—and they are supposed to transport the remaining JNA soldiers, together with all their SMB [as published, not further specified] equipment, and weaponry, to Boka Kotorska.

The fact that it is only a matter of hours before the JNA definitely and permanently leaves Vis can be deduced from yesterday's departure to Boka Kotorska of the families of high-ranking officers, with their personal cars. Last night, the gray transport ship was boarded by soldiers from Bandirica (a hill near the town of Vis), and Hum, taking with them the radar detector with which the JNA used to control the central Adriatic from Hum.

Although everything seems to indicate that the departure of the JNA is a "fait accompli," the people of Vis will believe it only when they see the stern of the last enemy vessel. Then, they say, there will be celebrations such as the island has never seen before.

Government Implements UNSCR 757 Sanctions

92BA1013A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 2 Jun 92 p 3

[Text of Slovene Government announcement: "Guidelines for Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 757/1992"]

[Text] In accordance with and on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution [UNSCR] No. 757/1992, adopted on 30 May 1992, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia is providing the following guidelines:

All measures went into effect at the moment of the adoption of the resolution, and are obligatory for all organs of the Republic of Slovenia, all persons (physical and legal), and all activities on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia that are associated with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

1. It is prohibited to import onto the territory of the Republic of Slovenia any sort of goods or products and services with an origin in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), which is apparent from the appropriate documents (a certificate of the origin of the goods and other documents).

The prohibition does not apply to goods and products that left the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (or were exported from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) before implementation of the Security Council resolution, as proven by the appropriate documents (customs declaration, shipping list, etc.).

2. It is prohibited to export or deliver any sort of goods or products and services to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to any person (legal or physical), or to any other person for purposes of conducting business in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This prohibition does not apply to exports of goods exclusively intended for health care needs and for food products, regarding which exporters are immediately to provide special notification to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the form of a notification to which a copy of the export customs declaration is attached. Guidelines on which goods are allowed to be exported in accordance with this paragraph will be issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of consultations with the committee established for implementing Security Council Resolution No. 724/1991.

3. All activities by persons (physical and legal) from the Republic of Slovenia and on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia that would promote or are intended for the export or transit of goods originating from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), are prohibited.

All activities by persons (physical and legal) from the Republic of Slovenia or on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia that would promote or are intended to promote the sale or delivery of goods to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), are prohibited, regardless of the origin of the goods.

4. All transportation activity by persons (physical and legal) from the Republic of Slovenia that is associated with the goods and products of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is prohibited. The prohibition also applies to merchant shipping under the flag of the Republic of Slovenia, and air transportation by means of the aircraft of the Republic of Slovenia.

All air traffic (takeoffs, landings, overflights) with the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is prohibited, with the exception of flights for humanitarian purposes for which permission is given in advance. This prohibition includes technological or service maintenance for flights, and other activities in connection with the maintenance of aircraft (insurance, etc.), which are registered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or are flown by individuals on behalf of or in the name of individuals in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

5. The transit of any sort of goods originating from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) which have been exported from there after the implementation of this resolution is prohibited for persons of the Republic of Slovenia and on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

The prohibition does not apply to transit through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) for goods and products that originate outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

6. All financial transactions (the importation, exportation, and transfer of financial funds, money orders, access to funds, credits) with persons (legal and physical) from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are prohibited. The prohibition applies to all persons (physical and legal) in the Republic of Slovenia and on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

This prohibition does not apply to payments that are exclusively intended for health care and humanitarian purposes and food products.

7. The participation of athletes representing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in sport events in the Republic of Slovenia is prohibited.

8. Scientific and technical cooperation, cultural exchange, and visits by persons and groups who are officially sponsored by or who represent the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are to cease.

9. All states (including the Republic of Slovenia) and the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must take measures such that they will not recognize any demands for compensation that would arise from the assumption that contracts or transactions have been affected by the measures required by the present resolution.

10. The resolution is obligatory for all states, regardless of the rights and obligations that they have under international treaties or treaties that were concluded before the date in the resolution. (The resolution is thus placed above all other international agreements and treaties.)

[Box, p 3]

The Government of the Republic of Slovenia, at its corresponding meeting on 1 June 1992 in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 757/1992, adopted the following decisions:

—The Government of the Republic of Slovenia fully supports Security Council Resolution No. 757/1992 and will adopt all the necessary steps to implement it.

—All ministries are charged, within the framework of their jurisdictions, with adopting and carrying out the activities necessary to implement the resolution.

—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is charged with reporting to the UN secretary general by 22 June 1992 on the implementation of the measures that the Republic of Slovenia has adopted in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution 757.

—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to provide information (guidelines) and the text of the resolution to all ministries, the Bank of Slovenia, and the Slovene Chamber of Commerce, and to the media for publication in the daily newspaper.

—Security Council Resolution No. 757/1992 is to be published in URADNI LIST REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE, International Treaties.

Government-Approved Pay Raises Criticized

92BA1013B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 May 92 p 3

[Article by Danilo Slivnik: "The Bill Will Come in September"]

[Text] Economists in the West deal with politics very little, but when they do, they are exact. Here it is exactly the opposite: Economists constantly deal with politics, and it is when they deal with the economy that they are inexact. In fact, it is not otherwise possible to understand what has been happening for the last 10 days in the area of wages in the noneconomic sector, when the news is that Drnovsek's government has, so to speak, spontaneously or at least without real consideration, increased wages in public services by 38 percent and thus, at the very beginning, seriously jeopardized several of the most important parameters of economic stabilization policy: control of personal incomes, consumption in general, inflationary trends, stability of the exchange rate, etc.

As all sorts of things have already done, this happened instantaneously, and so after the first "shock" among the public, except for those who are to get thicker envelopes with the next paycheck, even economists favorably inclined toward the government are confused. For everyone else, only two reasons remained: Either the government did not even know what it was doing, or else it was concerned exclusively with the political effect, i.e., scoring cheap political points with those social strata which have already been poorly paid for several years

and which cannot count on any serious improvement in their financial position before a more comprehensive restructuring of the Slovene economy. In the past few days, in fact, no one knew precisely what was happening, since many economists were holding their heads, and not even "official economist number one" Bogomir Kovac, who said that it was a sort of scandal and above all a big political mistake, had any real understanding of the step that had been taken. The paradox, however, is that at this time, in a way the government should even be defended, since it is hard to believe that there is anyone in it who would think that he could score political points through such pay raises, especially since it is clear that because of the inflationary spiral that has been triggered, in a month or two the wages in public services will already be at the same level as last month, and that in half a year (or later), when the elections are held, the whole thing will already have been long forgotten in any case. The other alternative, however (that they did not know what they were doing) is essentially even worse for the government, since it means that certain serious weaknesses are appearing in it at the very beginning, which are not good for any government, and which may also soon lead to other slips by it.

What really happened will thus probably not be known for some time to come, but it is very characteristic that immediately after the decision, all the members of the government quickly began to avoid clear answers, and that a situation almost occurred as if on the day when the government adopted the decision on raising wages, not one of the ministers dealing with the economy was "present." Thus, Maks Tajnikar is supposed to have it written down "in black and white" that he was in Rogla that day, Janez Kopac was supposedly not completely convinced of what this meant for the budget, and others supposedly thought that it was not their business. It is certain, however, that Janez Drnovsek, Herman Rigelnik, and Viktor Zakelj were present, and that through some strange confusion the proposal went through without the government's even seriously discussing it, much less having any sort of calculation of what would result from its implementation in the next few months in the current economic trends and as a result in the entire macroeconomic area. Several words were reportedly only exchanged about where the government was supposed to get the money to cover this increase, and even in this regard two strange opinions were heard: Some people supposedly said that it would "work out somehow," and others supposedly said that they would use those 100 million German marks for it that were supposed to be left over from last year's withholding of payments for customs duties into the federal treasury, and which were supposed to be still in the budget as some sort of reserve. Later, however, no one from the previous government could (or wanted to) say whether there was any money from that source in the budget at all, and what it would really mean for covering the higher expenditures for wages in all branches of Slovene noneconomic activity.

It is thus not surprising at all that after the initial surprise, the reactions in political circles shifted to a purely propaganda level, and that a sharp quarrel flared up primarily about who would exploit that clumsy action by the government and for what, and whether the former government was not essentially to blame for everything, since in concluding the collective contracts it had agreed to such a mechanism for increasing the noneconomic sector's wages after the economy's, and since it had not held back wages in the productive branches even more in the last few months. These, however, were essentially only formal pretexts, even though the old government was to blame for all sorts of things, since Drnovsek's government decided on the sudden wage increase quite independently, and obviously without a clear idea of the fact that the fulfillment of collective contracts is one thing (even with such dangerous strike threats), and the conduct of national economic policy is something completely different. In fact, in recent months a sort of fundamental equilibrium in the Slovene economy has been achieved in spite of everything, and likewise the indices for the growth of prices and inflation have settled down, the tolar's exchange rate has been stable, etc.—and then the government itself suddenly triggered a new cycle of consumption, which can cause a completely uncontrolled wave of inflation, or under certain conditions an even broader monetary disaster. As we know, governments as a rule do not do this anywhere unless they intend to launch a more far-reaching process of redistributing wealth, in which case it is very soon the turn for such "hard core" measures as freezes, import quotas, forced bankruptcies, etc.

In fact, this was last done (as has already been pointed out a few days ago) by Ante Markovic, but everyone knows what happened to him afterward: First of all he caused complete chaos in the Yugoslav economy, and then he had to resign....

Territorial Defense Training Detailed

92BA1013C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 May 92 p 20

[Article by Veso Stojanov: "What Kind of Drill for a Slovene Soldier?"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] In the first days of April, at the six Territorial Defense [TO] training centers in Slovenska Bistrica, Postojna, Ljubljana, Kranj, Cerklje, and Vrhnika, the first regular generation of Slovene soldiers began to be trained. That generation will be trained in military skills according to the new Slovene doctrine for military training, which is different in many respects from the method of training soldiers in the former Yugoslav Army.

Territorial Defense began to test the system for organizing and training the Slovene conscript army approximately a year and a half ago at two experimental training centers in Igo, near Ljubljana, and Pekre, near

Maribor, when the Yugoslav Army was still present on Slovene territory. The creators of the new training system at that time were faced with the problem of how young soldiers could be suitably trained in military skills and knowledge in a substantially shorter period of military service, since it is known that military service in Slovenia is the shortest in Europe. According to the Defense Ministry, last year's experimental training was successful, although there were several difficulties with the first experimental generation, since training was interrupted for some time because of the military intervention in Slovenia. Defense Minister Janez Jansa says that it is precisely due to that first experimental generation and the December intermediate one, which tested the new training system, that it has already been established, tested, and to a considerable extent already introduced.

"With the experimental training, we primarily succeeded," stated Bogdan Koprivnikar, the chief of the First Administration in the Defense Ministry, who is responsible for the training of soldiers, "in fundamentally changing the role of the personnel who are directly involved in training. We determined that the personnel who take care of training and work directly with the soldiers cannot be like they were in the former Yugoslav Army. Previously, training was carried out by detachment commanders or corporals, who were performing their military service at the same time. That system was not appropriate, and that is why we have provided professional instructors for every 10 soldiers, and thus a more expert and professional approach, which makes it possible for a soldier actually to obtain the appropriate knowledge."

In addition to the introduction of professional instructors, who have replaced the formerly hated "corporals," a fundamental innovation in the Slovene Territorial Defense training system is that the training is divided into two approximately equal parts. "In the first one, the soldiers acquire individual military skills. They are not assigned to combat units, but rather to training organizational units, in which, in two and a half or three months, they have to learn everything that a soldier has to know about conduct in battle, and acquire all the knowledge that makes him an acceptable part of the collective. In the second phase of the training, the soldiers go to units that are formed in accordance with classic military organization, i.e., detachments, platoons, companies, battalions, in which they test their acquired skills through collective use. This phase, of course, is considerably more difficult, since it involves the coordination of many things, and requires greater logistical support," stated Defense Minister Janez Jansa.

In the first three months of basic training at the training centers, a soldier will receive the fundamental military education that is the same for all Territorial Defense members, regardless of which combat unit or which specialty the soldier will be assigned to after the three months. It is primarily a question of having the individual well trained during these three months in the use and handling of weapons, in defense, in the use of communications and engineering systems, etc. It is also for this reason that a system of professional instructors, who take care of training 10 soldiers, has been established.

"We are also trying to minimize soldiers' absence from training, since the training program is quite condensed, precisely because of the short period of military service. As a rule, a soldier is to do everything that is written in the basic training program. Because of the different jobs within the barracks that soldiers usually do, for example, standing guard, cleaning up, work actions, working in the kitchen, etc., absence from training in the former Yugoslav Army even reached 50 percent. We also know that there were a great many jobs that soldiers in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] did. This seriously weakened the training process. With our organization, we are trying to have a majority of the soldiers be in training. That is also why there are fewer so-called internal services. We are even trying to have young soldiers not stand guard, but for the time being that is not feasible, since we do not yet have old soldiers. There is also one more condition that we have to meet in order to train soldiers successfully in that time; it is the supply of training equipment—which is associated with money, which we do not have, of course. The training program consequently includes only the most important military training of individuals and small units, such as the detachment. We in the ministry think that for a soldier who knows how to function as an individual and can handle himself in a detachment or a platoon, it will not be any problem at all to function in larger units, in which it is then a matter of command and control, and thus already a matter of the officers' training. In the Territorial Defense training centers, there is much more practical work with weapons and other military equipment in order to acquire knowledge and skills, and less theoretical work and acquisition of theoretical knowledge. Almost all modern armies in the world are acquainted with a similar training system, which is based on the practical training of soldiers," we were told by Bogdan Koprivnikar.

There Will Not Be a West Point in Slovenia

In addition to training equipment, the expertise and professionalism of the officer and instructor cadre is primarily the most important thing for good training of the young men, who will have to go to Territorial Defense barracks for a full half year after the three months. Minister Jansa says that in addition to the financial problem, the cadre problem is the key one in establishing a conscript-based defense system. "We now have essentially three categories in the professional cadre structure of Territorial Defense. One of them are the old Territorial personnel, 400 people, who were already employed in the Territorial Defense organization even before the war. The second category, which is also largest in number, consists of the officers, selected on the basis of public competitions with a suitable civilian education and reserve officer school. The smallest category is the

officers who came over to us from the former Yugoslav Army. These are mostly assigned to professional duties," Janez Jansa stated. All of these personnel are not sufficient for TO's needs, however, and consequently, at the same time that it is beginning the regular training of soldiers, the Defense Ministry is also thinking intensively about its own system for educating officers and noncommissioned officers.

Minister Jansa said in this regard that Slovenia would not have traditional military education. "The traditional kind of military education that we had in the old Yugoslavia has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages lie in relatively high professional knowledge, even though it was not like that in the JA [Yugoslav Army], as we saw. The disadvantage, however, is in the narrow qualifications of the officer, who then has a hard time fitting into normal life. Different approaches to the formation of military education are known in the world. In acquiring a military cadre, we decided on a more liberal approach, which was not characteristic of the previous Yugoslav system.

"During the transitional period, we simply coped by trying to make the basic level of knowledge of everyone applying in response to public advertisements equivalent through courses lasting for several weeks or several months. From those people, we formed the leadership of the training centers, and thus during a one-time preparatory period they became acquainted with Slovene military terminology, the internal organization of Territorial Defense, the principles of working in a collective, etc. In the future, we plan to have four basic types of further military and officer training. Everyone who goes into the advanced training system will obtain the basic military knowledge that he has to have while performing his military service. The condition for entering military school will be having completed military service, so that he will have had the direct experiences of an ordinary soldier, which afterwards have a positive effect upon the conduct of an officer. The first type will still be a reserve officer school, in which we will train a reserve officer cadre during the period of performing military service.

"The second type will be a school for noncommissioned officers, which will include graduates of the fifth level of civilian education who have completed their military service. When these two conditions have been met, the candidate will go for advanced training, in which he will also obtain other knowledge necessary for a noncommissioned officer. We already have experience with this, since at the beginning of May the first experimental generation finished advanced training in Igo. We have already gained a little over 60 noncommissioned officers.

"The third type of advanced training is the acquisition of a military education sufficient for performing the duties of an officer. The condition in this case will also be the completion of military service, if possible the reserve officer school, and higher education with any major. In the advanced training, which should last up to one year, we will try to provide these people with the missing sociological or scientific knowledge necessary for engaging in an officer's profession. Everyone who completes this education will be able to engage in an officer's profession, but on the other hand they will also have a civilian education, if they change their minds after a few years and leave TO. They will thus not be forced to remain in this state service against their will in order to support themselves. Furthermore, the state will no longer have the burden of having to keep taking care of individuals who change their minds after one year. On the other hand, everyone who completes the officer training will have the opportunity of further military training and improvement in the form of shorter or longer courses. The commanders of companies and battalions, those in various staff posts, etc., will be trained in them. This is the fourth type of military education."

From the Easier to the Harder

We were also assured at the Vrhnika training center that the basic military training of young conscripts is based primarily on getting an individual to handle his personal weapon well, along with movement on the battlefield, defense on the battlefield, etc. The center's commander, Captain Tone Turk, says that in their method of training they are similar to a school, and in this regard they adhere to the basic principle of pedagogy: from the easier to the harder. We were also able to assure ourselves of this, since we were able to observe how the instructor taught his detachment of 10 novices shooting skills with an empty rifle before firing with live ammunition. Otherwise, in the center itself we were able to see several innovations, to which all of us who did our military service in the former Yugoslav Army were not accustomed. Thus, for instance, wearing a cap is not mandatory, a soldier can salute an officer or noncommissioned officer even without a cap, an individual platoon can decide independently how soldiers will be dressed, and officers consistently address soldiers with the formal "you" and vice versa. There is no military jail at the center, because the system of sanctions for individual violations by soldiers is also different. The notorious "reports" do not exist, and the center employs a civilian female psychologist, who is in an important position in the center's organizational structure.

The living quarters are also of a higher standard than in the former JNA. Even the fact that soldiers can shower every day means a considerable qualitative jump in comparison with the situation in the former Yugoslav Army. All kitchen work is done by civilian employees. This is partly a consequence of the fact that Territorial Defense has not yet introduced the training of military cooks, and partly also a consequence of the system that soldiers have to spend most of their time in training—and there really is a lot of training. Every working day there are exactly nine hours of school. The company, as the largest unit at the center, is quite independent. It no

longer has the soldiers who were the notorious company officers. Their work is now done by a professional soldier or officer.

The people at the center say that because of the lack of money, the training of the soldiers will not be the way it ought to be for some time to come. Firing ranges, exercise areas, and artillery ranges are still incomplete, and there is still no training ammunition for certain types of anti-armor weapons, etc. Likewise, the living quarters of the soldiers at the center have not quite been fully renovated, and consequently do not yet completely meet the housing standards that are to apply in the Slovene army.

The system itself for training soldiers and the way of life at the training centers (at this time we still cannot report on what it will be like in combat units, since the first such units will be formed at the beginning of July, when the present first regular generation completes the first, basic phase of training) are thus considerably different from the system in the former Yugoslav Army. One of the principal differences is that there is no political education in the TO. In the process of military training, so-called patriotic education has been introduced, in which soldiers are familiarized with the state's military history, without political admixtures. Minister Jansa said that they were thinking about changing that subject to a subject for increasing soldiers' motivation. Otherwise, regarding the differences between the TO and the former army, Janez Jansa said, "There are big differences. The Slovene language is used to communicate. A soldier is a person and not a number, since there is a relationship of equality in communication among people, i.e., an officer and soldier address each other with the formal 'you.' There are no more of those traditional maneuvers that we could characterize as drill. Soldiers no longer study parade steps, except of course for an honor company. These are differences more on a symbolic level, however, and the substantive differences lie mainly in the fact that we are involved in intensive military training without attempts to influence political or national awareness. It also has to do with the fact that the training program has been set up in such a way that it no longer encourages soldiers to feel that they are wasting their time in the army. There is also an essential substantive difference in the principle of territoriality, since as a rule soldiers serve as close as possible to their own native area or the area of their permanent residence. There are more free leaves, there are no prohibitions against professing a religion, etc. One of the key substantive differences is also the constitutional right to an alternative, or civilian performance of military service."

International

Reports on Shooting Down of U.S. Plane Denied

AU1606104092 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 92 p 8

[M. Lazanski report: "'AWACS' Not Shot Down"]

[Text] The official announcement from the Command of the Yugoslav air force and anti-aircraft defense, which was stated by Major Mladen Savic in a television program on Studio B, denies all rumors on an alleged shoot-down of an American "AWACS" reconnaissance aircraft over the airspace of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. There has recently been widespread speculation on an alleged shoot-down of an American plane, thought to have been a result of the radical and harsh change in Washington's attitude towards Belgrade.

However, these speculations have turned out to be totally unfounded, since, according to its technical and strategic characteristics, an "AWACS" aircraft would have no need to enter the airspace of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The United States at the moment has six SR-71 A/B "black bird" reconnaissance aircraft, 17 Y-2 R/RT aircraft, 23 TR - 1A/B reconnaissance aircraft, and 19 RC-135 aircraft, all in the contingent of the strategic air command. The American Air Force has 21 "AWACS" aircraft (14 in reserve) and a considerable number of other reconnaissance aircraft.

The "AWACS" E-3 is actually a modified version of a "Boeing 707", with improved engines. It has a crew of 17, most of whom are radar operators, and its configuration is characterized by the mushroom-shaped radar on its roof. Its state-of-the-art electronics system enables an "AWACS" to do surveillance on everything in the air and partly on the ground to a distance of hundreds of kilometers from it, so that there is no need for it to enter the airspace of the observed country.

"AWACS" has a completely independent JTIDS [as published] system, which is in constant contact with the American space satellite system of reconnaissance, and serves as a command point for early radar warning and guiding. Its expediency was shown in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and last year's Gulf war. The American Navy has mini-versions of "AWACS", the E-2C Hockey, which are stationed on aircraft carriers.

All these electronic reconnaissance aircraft are sensitive to attacks from air-to-surface missiles, but, thanks to their advanced electronic system, they have no need to come within the range of antiaircraft projectiles.

Federal

Assembly Elects Academician Cosic President

AU1506154192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 15 June 92

[Text] [Announcer] We have our correspondent Miladin Manojlovic at the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] on the line. It seems that the results of the presidential voting are known.

[Manojlovic] Yes, the results are known. I can tell you that academician and writer Dobrica Cosic is the FRY president. At this very moment the results of a secret ballot in the Chamber of Citizens have been announced. Out of 135 deputies, 126 voted for Cosic, eight were opposed, and one vote was invalid.

The Chamber of Republics session was held in the other hall. So far we have learned that 34 deputies voted and 28 were in favor of Cosic. Jugoslav Kostic, Chamber of Citizens president, has just reported that a ceremonial joint session of both chambers will be held in 20 minutes and, as he announced, new Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic will be sworn in. This is all for now from the Yugoslav Assembly.

New President Profiled

AU1506185492 Paris AFP in English 1833 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (AFP) - Serb nationalist Dobrica Cosic, considered the spiritual inspiration for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia," was elected president of the reduced Yugoslav federation Monday [15 Jun].

Cosic, 70, was elected by "a big majority" in the federal parliament, made up of representatives of only Serbia and Montenegro following the breakup of the former six-republic federation. The parliament is dominated by former communists following elections last month which were boycotted by the opposition.

Cosic, who was seated next to Milosevic in parliament during the vote, was the only candidate for federal president after four other persons withdrew their candidacies.

He was sworn in shortly after the vote, pledging to make "Serbian renaissance" and the protection of Serbs inside newly independent Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina his priorities. He also said he would try to organize new federal elections "as soon as possible."

An author of novels, historian and member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, Cosic was considered one of the leading lights of Josip Broz Tito's post-war regime until he was expelled from the Communist Party Central Committee in the late 1960's for his extreme Serb nationalism.

Considered Serbia's leading intellectual, Cosic is viewed as the spiritual inspiration behind Milosevic's strident Serb nationalism, which has taken form in Belgrade's support for Serbian separatists in newly independent Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In a widely circulated paper issued in 1987 by the Academy of Sciences and supported by Milosevic, Cosic argued for the need to reunite all Yugoslavia's Serbs—including the large minorities in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina—under one government.

But before his election Monday, Cosic chided his pupil's administration for being too conservative in its policies and for "lacking energy" in its handling of the Yugoslav crisis.

Speaking at a press conference at the Belgrade Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cosic said the Serbian people's "existence is threatened" and called on the population to choose new leaders "capable of carrying out a grand (Serbian) renaissance."

"Serbia is at a crossroads: choose between an economic, democratic and civilizing renaissances for national catastrophe."

Cosic also founded the first Yugoslav human rights group and defended a number of opponents to the country's former communist government, including Dobroslav Paraga—now president of an extreme right-wing Croatian nationalist group, and Vojislav Seselj, head of an extremist Serb movement.

Cosic Assumes New Presidential Duties

Addresses Assembly

AU1506170392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Speech by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic to the Federal Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's, deputies, ladies, and gentlemen: The extremely difficult situation in which the new state has found itself has even forced you to invite a writer to assume the duties of president of the Republic. It was this situation, in which no personal concern can be above national ones, that compelled me to accept. You believe that I can perform these duties. Thank you for the trust that you have expressed.

As I do not belong to any political party, I assume that your trust and the trust of the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, which is charging me with the most difficult task and moral duty in my life, is based on my books and my public work.

I will present my views on how I can justify the people's trust and how this assembly will fulfill the expectations of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the shortest possible time. I want to present to you and to the citizens of Yugoslavia several basic assumptions concerning the policy which I believe will lead the country out of the difficulties in which it has found itself.

I will strive for the following things: gathering together and unifying the strength of the people for the renewal of society; peace and comprehensive cooperation with all neighbors, including those in the Balkans, Europe, America, and the entire international community; freeing our country from isolation and the UN sanctions; the fatherland care of the Serbian people endangered in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina; care for the Serbs who have fled and were banished from their homeland; a democratic compromise, which would provide a basis for practical and honest cooperation among the parties in power and the opposition concerning all important national and social aims; the new national elections in as practical a period of time as possible; well-planned and decisive changes which will break with the Titoist system and the party state forever, with the aim of creating a modern, law-governed, democratic state faster; adaptations of our national and social programs to the conditions of the modern world and civilization; a political dialogue with the representatives of national minorities aimed at achieving their national and civil rights according to the highest international principles and standards.

I favor a government of democratic unity, a government consisting of expert, competent, and useful people, a government capable of stopping the inflation and further decline in the standard of living, that would utilize the best production capabilities of the country. I favor a government that would introduce the strictest thrift and create an efficient, workable, and civilized administration. I favor a government that would acknowledge knowledge, honesty, and diligence.

I favor constitutional changes that would perfect the basic law of the country and the basis of the state and legal order for the highest political culture.

Ladies and gentlemen! I stand in front of you seriously worried. Days of poverty, suffering, disappointment, dissatisfaction, deceit, and (?exhaustion) are ahead of us. There will be injustice and lies from the powerful and the cruel. There will be a prolonged lack of understanding by an indifferent world. There will also be days of creation and moral accomplishments, and days when our truth and justice will triumph.

In order to survive in a national unity and preserve our identity, to save ourselves from misfortunes and suffering that are within in our destiny, to live up to our capabilities and the times and the world where we exist, it is inevitable that we reasonably change our state, society, institutions, and ourselves, ourselves first and foremost.

Only by nonviolent, evolutionary, democratic, and civilized transformation of the system; only by national and social reform toward productive, free, and enlightened society, and all this with new and young people in the

entire ruling structure of the society; only by entrepreneurial energies, extreme efforts, diligence, and honesty; only by extinguishing the ideological hatred and political intolerance that are pushing us toward a civil war; only by understanding that democracy means talk, negotiation, and agreements among people, groups, and parties who think differently, can we step toward salvation from the situation in which we are today.

So that it would not be worse but better—which I believe can happen in our country, as otherwise I would not stand in front of you at this moment—I am calling upon all patriots and democrats to cooperate. I appeal to all parties, organizations, and citizens to make it possible—through social peace, tolerance, and patience—for this assembly and for this government that we will form within a reasonable period of time to realize the most pressing national, economic, and political tasks.

I urge us to talk with those who do not think the same and who are dissatisfied with the existing situation about our love for our fatherland, devotion to our children, and efforts for a more peaceful future of our nation. Within the limits of the law, I will serve you with all my strength, wishing to be president of the Republic for as short a time as possible and waiting for your reminder to leave the post as soon as I make a mistake, as soon as I fail your trust and the hopes of the nations of Montenegro and Serbia. [applause]

Holds News Conference

LD1506203992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1758 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—I will not betray my anti-Titoist convictions and I will do everything to help this country pull out of the troubles for which it is least to blame. This was stated today at a press conference by writer and academician Dobrica Cosic shortly after his election for the post of first president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Cosic expressed his firm belief that "the world will realize what the truth is, will concentrate on justice and rights, and will recognize the rights to which the Serb nation is entitled."

Asked about what made him accept the post of president, Cosic said that it was "the people's and the nation's faith that I can make a good contribution." Asked by BORBA if his election was the first step toward the departure of President Milosevic, Cosic said: "That is not within my competence."

Facing a large number of domestic and foreign reporters, the newly elected president stressed that he is "not taking over power but assuming a duty which can be executed only if the citizens help in common efforts."

In a reference to his literary activities, Cosic said that instead of writing his last novel, "I am now writing my last book which is likely to have many critics and whose thoughts and ideas will affect people most."

Asked about Serbia's future national policy, Cosic said that he will have more to say about it once he acquaints himself with existing potentials and sufferings. He noted that this policy emanates from his books, in particular *The Serb Issue—A Democratic Issue.*

Asked on which problems he will give priority in his work, Cosic briefly said: Peace, and the lifting of the sanctions.

Consults With Political Parties

LD1606085392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0751 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), will begin his first working day with consultations with presidents of the political parties represented in the Federal Assembly.

It has been learned that at 1100 this morning the president of Yugoslavia will meet Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS); and an hour later with Momir Bulatovic, president of the Democratic Party of Socialists (of Montenegro) [Demokratska Partija Socijalista Crne Gore]. At 1300, a meeting is planned with Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka].

Serbia

President Milosevic Endorses Cosic Election

AU1506193692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by unidentified correspondent in the Federal Assembly in Belgrade on 15 June—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Yugoslavia is taking shape. We have a new president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Milosevic] This is an event of exceptional importance because the formation of Yugoslavia represents the basis for the final stabilization of our political, economic, and every other kind of situation.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Patriarch Pavle Addresses Procession Members

AU1406190492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 June 92

[Dragoljub Backovic report]

[Text] Spiritual religious service attracted a great number of churchgoers in the Belgrade Cathedral on 14 June. Many of them could not even enter the church, therefore, they were standing on the surrounding streets. After the religious service, a procession in which there

were several thousands of Belgrade residents moved toward the Ruzica Church. Before the procession set off, the people gathered outside the cathedral were addressed by His Holiness Serbian Patriarch Pavle. He said the following on this occasion:

[Begin Pavle recording] Our Church of Saint Sava never taught its nation to seize what does not belong to it or to enslave anyone. All the time the church was only calling for the struggle for the freedom of its oppressed brothers and for the salvation of its desecrated sacred objects. However, the Serbian Orthodox Church did not only have to think of its nation when the nation was defending itself from [words indistinct] that were due to similar premonitions recently voiced by our Holy Bishops' Synod, individual people proclaimed that church was meddling in politics. We are sorry that these people do not have ears to hear or do not want to hear. They do not have eyes or do not wish to see what is actually happening with the Serbian nation today, and in what danger the Serbian nation is from outside and inside.

The Serbian Church does not see the solution in some sort of unconditional unity of thinking, as true unity also involves differences. However, it does demand self-sacrifice, willingness to sacrifice for an overall well-being. The church does not offer and does not even consider imposing a sort of final solution, but it is asking the members of all parties and those outside parties to find a solution through reason, (?conscience), mutual forgiveness, unity, and awareness that evil will result in no good. [end recording]

Adhering to the recommendation by the Serbian Orthodox Church, the procession passed in peace and dignity, as this is proper of such a manifestation of a spiritual content.

Democratic Movement Postpones Protest Rally

LD1606083192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2253 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—The Council of the Serbian Democratic Movement (Depos) decided late this evening to postpone for a short period of time a protest rally named Democratic Assembly and scheduled for 21 June.

The Depos maintains, as stressed in a statement by the Depos Council, "that its call for Slobodan Milosevic to resign is widely supported among the democratic public. Protest rallies of intellectuals, the strike of students of Belgrade University, and heralded strikes of workers throughout Serbia, have taken the demand as their own," the statement notes.

In this way, the statement stresses, the great democratic assembly for the revival of Serbia has already started.

In the hope that the republican president will heed these increasingly vociferous calls, the Depos Council has decided that the great Democratic Assembly is not to be held on 21 June, and have postponed it for a short period of time. But it also reminds everyone of any significance in Serbian political life of the open letter to Slobodan Milosevic.

"The only thing we have not experienced yet in Serbia is a civil war. Whether we are nearer or further from that war if you stay or leave, it is not difficult to guess," the statement of the Depos Council says.

TANJUG has learned that the Council has accepted a wing of the Democratic Party (Demokratska stranka) led by Vice Chairman Vojislav Kostunica as its collective member. It has been also unofficially learned that this evening's session of the Council considered in detail the election of Dobrica Cosic as the FRY president. We have been informed unofficially that there is a mood to offer Cosic an opportunity to hold a democratic dialogue on the basis of the Depos platform very soon, and all in the hope that he will confirm his reputation as a man valuing dialogue.

Renaissance Movement Urges Coalition Government

LD1506074992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The deputies' Club of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] today asked the Serbian prime minister to use his powers and propose to the assembly speaker to convene as soon as possible an extraordinary assembly session to consider a Club platform on ways of overcoming the crisis.

TANJUG has learned that the letter to Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic stresses that "it is a well-known fact that, at a time when Security Council Commissions and other international fora are meeting and discussing us, the Serbian Assembly is not meeting, as if this has nothing to do with us."

Together with the letter, the prime minister was given the SPO deputies clubs' platform headlined "United for civil peace and national survival," which calls on "a historical compromise between the government and opposition" with the aim of preventing civil war.

The SPO Deputies Club specifies that the historical compromise can be reached only under the following conditions: That the government transfers its powers to temporary state bodies until early elections are called and that democratic opposition confirms once more its willingness to fight for political goals solely by peaceful and democratic means.

According to the SPO Deputies Club, the compromise would also include the transfer of powers of the republican president and the current government to a temporary government comprising representatives of the ruling and opposition parties and independent individuals. Within six months, the government would prepare conditions for elections to a constitutive Assembly.

In connection with this, SPO Deputies Club Chairman Slobodan Rakitic told TANJUG he fears that if the authorities reject these demands then all opportunities for a peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis in Serbia will be exhausted, and the situation could get out of control.

"Since the governing regime has lost the support even of its supporters who were loyal for a long time, and since there are rifts among the ruling party, the Serbian Assembly must listen carefully to all proposals on how to resolve the crisis. This is the last opportunity to reach a historical compromise," Rakitic said.

He warned that it is very dangerous that the full seriousness of the situation in which Serbia finds itself is being kept secret from the people, and that the ruling party is not showing willingness to cooperate with the opposition and other democratic forces.

"The prime minister is calling representatives of parties in Kosovo and Metohija and Vojvodina for talks for a second time. This is praiseworthy, but no one from the government top has extended a similar invitation to representatives of Serbian opposition parties," Rakitic concluded.

The SPO Deputies Club will offer the platform to all deputies of the Serbian Assembly for signing, so that after it gets the necessary number of signatures, it may be included in the Assembly procedure.

Students Vow To Strike Until Milosevic Resigns

LD1506201792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—Belgrade university students vowed on Monday [15 June] to continue the protest rally they started in downtown Belgrade, and to strike at the faculties, until the president of Serbia resigns, although their action does not have the support of the university leadership.

The Belgrade university board supports "in principle" the demands of over 10,000 student protesters for the resignation of Slobodan Milosevic, dissolution of the republican assembly, formation of a national salvation government and elections for a constituent assembly. The university board does not, however, support a general strike for the achievement of the student demands. The board has asked Milosevic to receive a university delegation as soon as possible.

The university leadership gives only a principled support to the student demands because it believes that a national salvation government should be formed before the republican parliament is dissolved and before Milosevic resigns.

In their proclamation, the students said that "the current authorities have failed on all points" and that "there is no field in which they have made a positive step".

At the protest rally, the students carried banners with slogans "leave",,"Mr. President, why do we have no friends.", "Mr. President, will they bomb us.", "Can you supply the food for the children.".

Several hundred Serbian scientists also demanded Milosevic's resignation at their protest rally in Belgrade on Monday.

Telegrams of support for Milosevic, urging him to stand firm and not yield to pressure, continued to arrive on Monday from groups of citizens and committees of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia from several towns in the Republic.

Government Proposes Increased Budgetary Spending

LD1306191692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbia put forward a changed law on the republican budget at its session today chaired by Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic. A statement from the government session says that the budget of the Republic of Serbia is to be increased from 528 to 1,411 billion dinars or by 167 percent. [passage omitted]

When the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is under an economic blockade, the budget has the additional objective of helping alleviate consequences of the economic blockade. Hence, investment into companies using domestic materials, energy sources, and human resources, and especially funds to stimulate agriculture, are listed among priority tasks. [passage omitted]

In line with the government decision, 62 million dinars are set aside from the budgetary reserve for the repair of damages inflicted by war operations of the Republic of Croatia on the territory of the Sid municipality at the beginning of April. For repairs of private homes, 52 million dinars are set aside, including 27 million dinars of nonrepayable loans. [passage omitted]

Health Care Services on Last Reserves

LD1606105892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0958 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 16 (TANJUG)—Serbia's health care services were using up the last of their reserves, writes Belgrade daily BORBA on Tuesday [16 June].

The U.N. Security Council adopted on May 30 economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ), and its members—Serbia and Montenegro.

Pharmaceuticals were exempted only if part of humanitarian aid.

The University Clinical Center (UKC) in Belgrade "cannot work under blockade", said the UKC pharmacy director, Dr. Borivoje Radosavljevic, to the BORBA daily.

All open-heart surgery was stopping at this sophisticated medical institution, he said, and diagnostic procedures involving laboratory tests would have ceased soon.

He explained that the equipment, medicine and apparatus were linked with imports. A part was being manufactured at home, but these factories, too, were dependent on imports.

The Belgrade Pulmonary Diseases Clinic director, Dr. Milivoje Stevanovic, warned that "cytotoxic drugs were already out of stock, while x-rays were being carried out on a reduced scale because the respective films were nearly exhausted." He added that strict saving measures were in force, and that wherever possible hospital patients have been sent home to continue treatment.

The situation with medical supplies was much better in Belgrade than in Serbia's interior, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA notes on Tuesday.

The Belgrade Emergency Medical Service was not as yet working in extraordinary conditions, but the question was what the situation would be like in a few days, deputy director of this service, Dr. Sofija Dunjic, told POLITIKA.

Under a government order, the medical institutions in Serbia have since Thursday switched to work in extraordinary conditions. A crisis staff to control the implementation of rigorous saving measures in hospitals has been formed.

Kosovo

Kosovars To Solve Problems Through Dialogue

AU1606120092 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 16 (ATA)—The Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties of the Republic of Kosovo issued a communique about the possibility of a dialogue with the Serb Government, which was sent also to the CSCE.

The communique says among other things:

The Albanians of Kosovo are for the solution of their problems through dialogue and peaceful means. This stand is recognised and widely endorsed by the international community.

After a two-year complete silence to the constant invitations by the Albanians for serious dialogue, the present Serb communist regime unilaterally fixed three successive meetings, in which the Albanian political parties and associations from Kosovo were invited as well.

After mentioning through facts why the Albanians of Kosovo did not accept the above mentioned invitations, the communique says that at the time of the complete international isolation of Serbia and following the application of UNO's sanctions, at the time when the Serb opposition intensifies its criticisms towards the failure of the communist regime in power, the Serb authorities are not offering dialogue for the serious solution to the problem of Kosovo, but on the contrary they are trying to deceive the international community and public opinion and to smooth the criticisms coming from all over the world.

The Albanian political parties of Kosovo are ready to enter into dialogue for the peaceful solution of Kosovo's problem, but they cannot enter in the sort of negotiations the Serb Government offers at present, which as a political manipulation offer no possibility for success. The Albanian political parties demand serious and well prepared dialogue which will include the fundamental issue of the status of Kosovo and the right of the Albanians for self-determination based on the European criteria and definitions in the presence of European or UN representatives. The equal participation of Kosovo in the peaceful conference on Yugoslavia under the patronage of the European Community is a necessary step in this direction.

Macedonia

Gligorov Asks OIC To Recognize Macedonia

LD1506190292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1841 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Skopje, June 15 (TANJUG)—Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov warned on today that any further delay in the recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as an independent state might have adverse consequences and dangers in Macedonia and in the Balkans as a whole.

In a message addressed to the ministerial session of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which is due to open in Istanbul on Wednesday [17 June], Gligorov asks the OIC to support and recognize the Republic of Macedonia as their contribution to resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia and stabilizing peace in the region.

Gligorov says that Macedonia has always favoured a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and had in November 1991 proposed a declaration on independence and sovereignty.

Gligorov supports the efforts being invested by the OIC for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At its ministerial meeting in Luxembourg on Monday [15 June], the European Community again postponed recognizing Macedonia.

Greece is strongly opposed to the recognition of Macedonia, insisting that its present name denotes territorial aspirations to the neighbouring states.

Macedonia is one of the four breakaway Yugoslav republics which have applied to the E.C. for recognition.

Slovenia and Croatia were recognized on January 15, and Bosnia-Hercegovina on April 7.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Satisfied With Cosic Election

AU1506194092 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Interview with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic by unidentified correspondent in the Federal Assembly in Belgrade on 15 June—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Bulatovic, we represent Serbian Television. We would like to ask you for a brief statement. We have a new president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Bulatovic] I have just taken the opportunity to express my personal satisfaction with the fact that an esteemed and respectable man like Academician Dobrica Cosic is the head of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Correspondent] At this moment he is a person with integrative qualities, is he not?

[Bulatovic] I think that we should soon experience all his qualities and I hope that this is the best possible solution at this moment.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.